VOLUME NINE, NUMBER ONE SPRING 1989 The Journal of Historical Review INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

# The Journal of Historical Review

**Robert Faurisson**
*My Life as a Revisionist: September 1983 to September 1987*

**William B. Hesseltine**
*Atrocities, Then and Now*

**R. Clarence Lang**
*Red Cross Humanitarianism In Greece, 1940-45*

**—Reviews—**

*Made in Russia: The Holocaust*
*Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935*

**—Historical News and Comment—**

*Anne Frank's Handwriting*
*Wartime German Catholic Leaders and the Extermination of the Jews*
*Conspiracy Theory and the French Revolution*
*Circuitous Suppression*

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## From the Editor

*Hysteron proteron* was the Alexandrian grammarians' term for inverting a sequence of words or ideas by putting first what normally comes afterward, in time or in logic. In view of the dramatic events of IHR's Ninth Conference, which came to a rousing and successful conclusion just days before this issue of *The Journal* went to press, it is fitting that these editorial remarks begin with mention of the final piece of this quarter's *JHR*.

No IHR conference has been more imperiled, more frenetic, more intellectually productive, and more successful than the just concluded Ninth. The success was in very large measure the doing of IHR's director, Tom Marcellus, who, just as in previous conferences, handled the myriad of details, large and small, which go into arranging and conducting an international Revisionist historical conference. This February was different, however: at the last minute not one, but *two* hotels with which IHR had binding contracts broke their agreements at the last minute, threatening the immediate ruin of our conference, sowing confusion among our speakers and guests, and auguring ill for the fate of future conferences.

As you'll learn by reading his "Historical News and Comment" account of how IHR "pulled off" this most challenging of all conferences, Director Marcellus is a man of considerable sang-froid. Tom may never have been in the military, but, just as he did in the traumatic days and weeks following the July 4, 1984 terror arson, he exhibited not a few of the soldierly virtues. More than one general has had his horse shot out from under him on the field of battle; during this past conference Tom Marcellus not only survived two such incidents, but rallied his troops and led them to glorious victory. You'll read his gripping story of the background to IHR's historic (as well as historical) Ninth Conference here; the April *IHR Newsletter* will carry a longer, illustrated report of the affair.

Now to the rest of our Spring 1989 issue. The incomparable Robert Faurisson leads off with an updated version of his address to the IHR's Eighth Conference. Focussing chiefly on developments in France and on the 1985 Zündel trial, Faurisson gives a sweeping overview of the rise and progress of Revisionism in his native land and at the first Toronto trial. His usual meticulous attention to scholarly detail and his measured judgements of men and events lend "My Life As a

*continued on page 126*

# *My Life as a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)*

ROBERT FAURISSON

*(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)*

What is usually called the "Faurisson Affair" began on 16 November 1978 with the publication of an article about me in the newspaper *Le Matin de Paris.* For several years I had realized that as soon as the press made public my opinions about Revisionism I would encounter a storm of opposition. By its very nature Revisionism can only disturb the public order; where certitudes quietly reign, the spirit of free inquiry is an intrusion and shocks the public. The first task of the courts is not so much to defend justice as it is to preserve law and order. The truth, in the sense in which I use the word (i.e., that which is verifiable), only interests judges if it does not upset law and order. I never had any illusions: they would haul me into court, I would be convicted, and there would also be physical attacks, press campaigns and an upheaval in my personal, family and professional life.

I presented my last I.H.R. conference paper in September of 1983. Its title was "Revisionism on Trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983." (*JHR*, Summer 1985, Vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 133-182) This paper is the continuation of that earlier one. I have entitled it: "My Life as a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)." The period between 1979 and 1983 was marked in France by the use of legal weapons against Revisionism. The period 1983 to 1987 has been marked by a relaxation of that activity (but I am afraid that it is going to begin again in 1987-1988). In France, the Jewish organizations which took legal action against us were disappointed and even upset by the relative lightness of my conviction in April of 1983. They had expected better from the French courts. They wanted my hide but they got only a pound of flesh. They

hoped that the judges would say: "Faurisson is a falsifier of history; his work on the gas chambers is full of frivolities, carelessness, deliberate oversights and lies; Faurisson is malicious and dangerous." But on 25 April 1983, the judges of the first chamber of the Court of Appeal in Paris in a sense said: "Faurisson is a serious researcher; we find no frivolity, carelessness, deliberate oversights or lies in his writings about the gas chambers; but perhaps he is malicious and certainly he is dangerous; we condemn him for his probable maliciousness and for the danger he poses, but we do not condemn his work on the gas chambers, which is serious. On the contrary, since this work is serious, we guarantee every Frenchman the right to say, if he thinks so, that the gas chambers did not exist."

What the Jewish organizations could not achieve in France from 1979 to 1983, they then tried to accomplish in other countries, especially with the lengthy prosecution of Ernst Zündel in Canada. In 1984 and 1985 I actively participated in Zündel's defense. In the first part of this paper I will deal with that trial, which, in spite of everything, brought about a leap forward in historical research. The second part of my account will deal with the many so-called "affairs" which, mainly in France, have marked both the failure of those who want to block historical research and also the success of those who are involved in such research. In a third section of this paper I will try to review the achievements of Historical Revisionism up to now and to tell you what, in my opinion, are our prospects for the future.

My general impression is this: I am optimistic about the future of Revisionism but pessimistic about the future of Revisionists. Revisionism today is so vigorous that nothing will stop it; we need no longer fear the silent treatment. But Revisionist researchers are going to pay dearly for the spread of their ideas. It is possible that in some countries we will be reduced to some kind of samizdat activity, for we face increasing political and legal dangers, and our financial resources are dwindling (especially because of the expenses of our court appearances and convictions).

## I. THE ZÜNDEL TRIAL (1985), OR "THE NUREMBERG TRIAL ON TRIAL"

The year 1985 is a great date in the history of Revisionism. It will be remembered as the year of the Zündel trial (or, to be more precise, of the *first* Zündel trial since a second trial is currently being prepared [and took place in 1988 —Ed.]).

## Ernst Zündel

I think I know Ernst Zündel rather well. I met him in 1979 in Los Angeles at the first conference of the Institute for Historical Review. We have remained on good terms since then. In June of 1984 I went to Toronto, where he lives, to help him in his "pretrial" activities ("pretrial" being the period in which a Canadian judge decides whether the case before him should be brought to actual trial before a judge and jury). I returned in January of 1985 to Toronto, where, for almost the entire seven weeks of his trial, I again helped Zündel. In the future I will continue to help him as much as I can. He is an exceptional person.

Up until the trial he had worked as a graphic artist and publicist. He is 50 years old. Born in Germany in 1938, he has retained his German citizenship. His life has gone through serious upheavals since the day when, in the early 1980s, he began to distribute Richard Harwood's Revisionist pamphlet, *Did Six Million Really Die?* The pamphlet, published for the first time in Great Britain in 1974, was the occasion of a long controversy in the British magazine *Books and Bookmen* in the following year. At the instigation of the South African Jewish community, Harwood's pamphlet was banned in South Africa.

In 1984, in Canada, Sabina Citron, the head of the Holocaust Remembrance Association, organized violent demonstrations against Zündel. A bomb exploded at his house. The Canadian post office, treating Revisionist literature as it would pornography, refused Zündel the right to send or receive mail; he recovered his postal rights only after a year of legal wrangling. In the meantime his business had failed in spite of his excellent reputation in professional circles. At the instigation of Mrs. Citron, the Attorney General of the Province of Ontario charged Zündel with having published a false statement, tale or news liable to harm a public interest. Section 177 of the Canadian Criminal Code says the following:

> Everyone who willfully publishes a statement, tale or news that he knows is false and that causes, or is likely to cause, injury or mischief to a public interest, is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

The charge against Zündel followed this line of reasoning: the defendant had abused his right to freedom of expression; by selling the Harwood pamphlet, he was spreading a story that he *knew* to be false; as a matter of fact, he could not be ignorant that the "genocide of the Jews" and the "gas

chambers" were established facts. By his actions he was likely to "affect social and racial tolerance in the Canadian community" (*Transcripts*, p. 1682). Zündel was also charged with having personally written and mailed a letter, "The West, the War and Islam," expressing the same ideas as the Harwood pamphlet.

Judge Hugh Locke presided; the prosecutor was Peter Griffiths. Ernst Zündel was defended by British Columbia lawyer Douglas Christie, assisted by Keltie Zubko. The jury consisted of 12 people. The English-speaking media gave the trial extensive coverage. It should be noted that the expenses of bringing the case to trial were paid for by the Canadian taxpayers, and not by Sabina Citron's Holocaust Remembrance Association.

The jury found Zündel guilty of distributing the Harwood booklet, but did not convict him of writing the letter. Judge Locke sentenced Zündel to fifteen months in prison and forbade him to talk or write about the Holocaust. The German consulate in Toronto withdrew his passport. The Canadian government initiated deportation procedures against him. Before that, the West German authorities had launched massive, coordinated police raids on the homes of all Zündel's German supporters, on a single day, throughout West Germany.

But Zündel had won a media victory. In spite of their obvious hostility, the media in general and television in particular had shown the English-speaking Canadian public that the Revisionists possessed documentation and arguments of top quality, while the Exterminationists had serious problems.

In the forty years that have gone by since the end of World War II, a new religion has developed: the religion of the Holocaust. It took shape at the Nuremberg Trial in 1945-46, which was followed by many other such trials, some of which are still going on. Numerous historians have made careers out of this religion: most notable among them is undoubtedly Raul Hilberg. A flock of witnesses, or so-called witnesses, had swarmed to the witness stands in the courts to support the existence of the genocide of the Jews and the use of homicidal gas chambers by the Germans: one of the most important of them was Rudolf Vrba.

In 1985, at the Zündel trial, the prosecution invoked, above all, the Nuremberg Trial, and secured the appearances of both Hilberg and Vrba. Zündel had predicted that his trial would

"put the Nuremberg Trial on trial" and would be "the Exterminationists' Stalingrad." Events proved him right. The injustice of the Nuremberg Trial was made manifest, Hilberg was shown to be an incompetent historian, and Vrba was exposed as an impostor. I will not discuss the other witnesses called to the stand by Prosecutor Griffiths, least of all Arnold Friedman, who was offered as a witness to the Auschwitz gassings. Battered by lawyer Doug Christie's questions, Friedman ended up confessing that although he had indeed been at Auschwitz-Birkenau (where he was forced to work only once, delivering potatoes), he could report nothing but hearsay about the alleged gassings.

## The Injustice of the Nuremberg Trial

"International Military Tribunal": people have noted that those three words contain three lies. This "tribunal" was not a tribunal in the usual sense of the word but rather an association of conquerors who intended to deal with the vanquished according to the principle that might makes right. It was not "military" since, of the eight judges who presided over it (two Americans, two British, two French and two Soviets), only the two Soviets were military judges, the most important of them being I.T. Nikitchenko, a prominent Stalinist who had presided over the infamous Moscow trials of 1936-37. The "tribunal" was not "international" but inter-allied. It was based on the London Agreement, which had defined war crimes, crimes against peace (preparation and launching of an aggressive war), and crimes against humanity. The London Agreement was dated 8 August 1945, which meant that it came only two days after the Allies' obliteration of Hiroshima, and just 24 hours before the destruction of Nagasaki, while on the very date of 8 August, the Soviet Union was launching an aggressive war against Japan. The atomic bomb had been developed originally with the intention of using it against the cities of Germany; had that happened one wonders what kind of moral lesson the Allies could claim to have taught the Germans, as one wonders by what kind of right another "International Military Tribunal" judged the Japanese in Tokyo.

The "tribunal" had recourse to *ex post facto* laws and a theory of collective guilt. It judged without the possibility of appeal, which meant that it could be arbitrary, without fear of being reversed or overruled. It was a criminal trial, but there was no jury. The prosecution had formidable resources at its

disposal, especially in its control of the enemy's captured war archives. The defense has only laughable resources; it was severely limited in what it could do and it was under careful surveillance. For example, the defense lawyers had no right to bring up the Treaty of Versailles, in order to show that National Socialism had developed in part as a reaction to the effects of that treaty.

Articles 19 and 21 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal stated:

> The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence . . . [and] shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge, but shall take judicial notice thereof.

Even worse, the same Article 21 in a sense gave the force of law to the reports of the war crime committees set up by the Allies.

The Nuremberg trial suggests to me the following analogy. At the end of a boxing match which has ended in a knockout, there remain facing each other a giant, still on his feet: the winner; and, on the canvas, his bloodied victim: the loser. The giant pulls the victim to his feet and tells him: "Don't think the fight is over! First, I'm going to the dressing room. When I come back, it will be in judicial robes, to judge you in accordance with *my* law. You'll have to explain every punch you threw at me, but don't bother bringing up the punches I landed on you: you'll have no right to mention them (unless I happen to be in an extremely good mood and decide to tolerate such talk)."

By acting thus in 1945, the Allies started out on the wrong foot. They treated the conquered with arrogance and cynicism. They gave themselves complete freedom to invent and to lie. But above all, they were careless. They should have attempted to prove their accusations in accordance with sound judicial procedures. There were and are established methods for doing that. For example, if the Germans had in fact ordered and planned the killing of all the Jews, it should have been mandatory for the Allies to establish the existence of such an order and such a plan; in other words, it was necessary to prove criminal intent. If the Germans had actually employed formidable death factories, i.e. gas chambers, it was obligatory to establish the existence of the gas slaughterhouses. In other words, the Allies had to provide evidence of the weapon of the crime; expert studies were required. Had the Germans in fact used that weapon, it was up

to the Allies to prove that inmates were killed by poison gas; they therefore needed autopsy reports.

But neither during the Nuremberg Trial nor in all the later trials of the same kind did the conquerors produce either a single proof of criminal intent or a single expert report on the weapon used in the crime or a single autopsy report on a single victim of the crime. Here we are dealing with an alleged crime of gigantic proportions, yet no one seems to have found either criminal intent, a weapon, or a single corpse. The victors satisfied themselves with *unverified* confessions and testimony *without cross examination on the physical nature of the facts.*

## Return to Sound Judicial Methods

The charisma of Ernst Zündel lies in his understanding that the Revisionists are right when they claim that, in order to discover the truth about the Holocaust, they need only return to the traditional methods of both jurists and historians. Zündel's genius was in being simple and direct on a matter in which, for forty years, all the lawyers or defenders of persons charged with so-called "crimes against humanity" had schemed and maneuvered. In fact, from 1945 up to and including the Barbie case in 1987, not a single lawyer dared take the bull by the horns. Not one of them demanded that the prosecution prove the reality of the genocide and the gas chambers. All lawyers for the defense adopted delaying tactics. Generally, they pleaded that their client had not been personally implicated in such a crime; their client, they said, had not been on the scene of the crime, or really had been too far away to have had a clear understanding of it, or had been actually unaware of it. Even Jacques Vergès, Barbie's lawyer, pleaded that his client, according to the traditional formula, "could not have known." That over-subtle formula means that, according to Vergès, the extermination of the Jews did take place at Auschwitz or elsewhere in Poland but that Lieutenant Barbie, living in Lyons, France, could not have known about it.

Wilhelm Stäglich, in his book *The Auschwitz Myth*, convincingly described how at the Frankfurt Trial (1963-65) the defense lawyers had in that manner reinforced the prosecution; they accepted the myth of the extermination. The motives for that kind of behavior could have been either the intimate conviction among the lawyers, as among certain of the accused, that the abominable crime had really taken place,

or they could have been in fear of causing a scandal by simply seeking clarification about the reality of the crime. For almost all concerned, it would have been blasphemous to demand respect for traditional legal procedures in the trial of a "Nazi"; it must be understood that a "Nazi" is not a man "like other men" and that consequently there is no place for judging him "like other men." My personal experience with lawyers in trials of this kind leads me to think that many of them are also intimidated by their own incompetence in the historical or scientific domain. They have acquired the impression that it is impossible to answer the arguments of the Exterminationists and thus it is very difficult for them even to imagine how one would go about presenting the arguments of the Revisionists.

In Douglas Christie, Zündel was able to find a lawyer who, more than courageous, was heroic. It is for that reason that I agreed to support Doug Christie, day after day, as he prepared for and carried out his task. I must add that without the help of his friend Keltie Zubko we would not have been able to succeed in the 1985 trial, an exhausting ordeal which in retrospect seems like a nightmare. The atmosphere that prevailed in the courtroom was unbearable, especially because of the attitude of the judge, Hugh Locke. I have attended many trials in my life, including those in France during the time of the *épuration*, the postwar purge of "collaborators." Never have I encountered a judge as biased, autocratic and violent as Judge Hugh Locke. Anglo-Saxon law offers many more guarantees than French law but it only takes one man to pervert the best of systems: Judge Locke *was* that man. I remember Locke shouting in my direction: "Shut up!" when, from a distance, without saying a word, I thrust a document in the direction of Doug Christie (that exclamation and some others of the same kind did not appear in the trial transcripts).

Among the judge's innumerable rampages, I recall also the one provoked by . . . a square meter. In order to make the judge understand the impossibility of placing 28 to 32 persons in the space of a square meter (which is what Kurt Gerstein said he had seen), we brought in four sticks, each one meter in length, and we made ready to call 28 to 32 people. The judge bounced up, shouted that our procedure seemed undignified to him, and he forbade us to use it, adding, for good measure, a remark that is worth passing on to posterity:

> Before I could allow the jury to accept one square meter, I would have to hear [in the absence of the jury] a lot of witnesses who measured it. (*Transcript*, page 912)

Our method upset our opponents as well as the judge; it was resolutely materialist. We had an abundance of maps and plans of concentration camps, including aerial photos taken during the war by the Allies. We had available a mass of photographs, thanks most of all to Swedish researcher Ditlieb Felderer, who knew the most remote corners of the camps at Auschwitz and Majdanek. There were plenty of technical documents about cremations in the open air or in crematories, about Zyklon B, about disinfection gas chambers. I myself brought five suitcases of books and documents to Toronto, but I was just one researcher among others whom Zündel had gathered from different parts of the world.

Locke acted to neutralize our efforts. For example, he denied me the right to talk about Zyklon, aerial photos, and crematory buildings thought to contain homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. But I had been the first one in the world to publish the plans of these buildings and to prove, at the same time, that these alleged gas chambers had in reality been only morgues ("Leichenhalle" or "Leichenkeller"). Thanks to those plans, Zündel had large mock-ups built to show to the jury; but here again the judge intervened and forbade us to display the models, which had been made by a professional. Most important, Locke forbade me to talk about the gas chambers used for executions in the United States; he said that he did not see the relevance. In fact, the relevance was the following: the Americans used hydrogen cyanide gas for their executions; but Zyklon B, which the Germans supposedly used to kill millions of prisoners, also consisted essentially of hydrogen cyanide gas. Anyone wanting to study the chief weapon supposedly used by the Germans to commit their crime, ought, in my opinion, to examine the American gas chambers. That is what I myself had done, and I had concluded from that study that the homicidal gassings attributed to the Germans were, physically and chemically, completely impossible.

Nevertheless, in spite of Locke and his orders, we (Doug Christie and myself) demolished the expertise of Raul Hilberg and the testimony of Rudolf Vrba.

## The Incompetence of Their Number One Expert: Raul Hilberg

Raul Hilberg was born in Vienna in 1926, of Jewish stock. He was awarded a doctorate "in public law and government" in 1955. Like the great majority of authors, both

Exterminationist and Revisionist, who have written about the Holocaust, he was not educated as a historian. He was appointed a member of the Holocaust Memorial Council by President Jimmy Carter. He is a member of the Jewish Studies Association. He is the author of a reference work: *The Destruction of the European Jews*, published in 1961. A second edition ("revised and definitive") of this book was published in 1985, only a few months after its author's testimony at the Zündel trial. This point itself is important; I will return to it later.

Raul Hilberg bore the title of expert. He arrived in Toronto cloaked in his prestige, without books, without notes, without documents, apparently sure of himself, a man used to giving depositions at numerous trials against "war criminals." He testified for several days at the rate of probably $150 an hour. Questioned by Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths, Hilberg spelled out his thesis about the extermination of the Jews: according to him, Hitler gave orders for exterminating the Jews; the Germans followed a plan; they used gas chambers; the total of Jewish losses amounted to 5,100,000. Hilberg did not hesitate to describe himself in these terms: "I would describe myself as an empiricist, looking at the materials . . ." (*Transcripts*, page 687).

As soon as the cross-examination began, Hilberg found himself out of his depth. For the first time in his life, he had to deal with a defendant who had decided to defend himself and was capable of doing so. Doug Christie, at whose side I sat, cross-examined Hilberg sharply, unmercifully, for several days. His questions were pointed, precise, relentless. Until then I had had some respect for Hilberg because of the quantity, not the quality, of his work; in any case, he stood head and shoulders above the Poliakovs, Wellers, Klarsfelds and the rest. As he testified my relative esteem was replaced by a feeling of irritation and pity: irritation because Hilberg constantly engaged in evasive maneuvers, and pity because Christie ended up scoring a blow almost every time.

In any event, if there was one clear result, it was that Hilberg was in no sense an "empiricist, looking at the materials." He was exactly the opposite; he was a man lost in the clouds of his ideas, a sort of theologian who has constructed for himself a mental universe in which the physical aspects of the facts have no place. He was a professor, all too academic, a "paper historian" like Vidal-Naquet. He began to stumble, starting with the very first

question. Doug Christie announced that he was going to read him a list of concentration camps and then ask him which ones he had examined and how often he had done so. Thereupon Hilberg revealed that he had not examined *any* of them, either before publishing the first edition of his major work in 1961 or after that date, not even for the "definitive" edition of 1985. Since he had begun research on the history of the Holocaust in 1948, we were thus confronted with a man who had acquired the reputation of being the foremost historian in the world in his own area of research without even once in 37 years having examined a single concentration camp. He had visited only two camps, Auschwitz and Treblinka, in 1979 ("One day in Treblinka, and perhaps a half a day in Auschwitz, half a day in Birkenau" [*Transcript*, page 779]); even that was merely to attend a ceremony. He had not had the curiosity to inspect either the premises themselves or the Auschwitz archives maintained at the camp. He had never visited the areas described as "gas chambers" (*Transcripts*, pp. 771-773 and 822-823). Asked to explain the plans, photographs and diagrams of the crematories, Hilberg refused, saying:

> If you are going to show me building plans, photographs, diagrams, I do not have the same competence as I would with documents expressed in words (*Transcripts*, page 826).

He estimated that more than one million Jews and "perhaps 300,000" non-Jews had died at Auschwitz (*Transcripts*, page 826), but he did not explain how he arrived at those estimates, nor why the Polish and the Soviets had arrived at a total of 4 million, a number inscribed on the monument at Birkenau (*Transcripts*, page 826).

Doug Christie then questioned Hilberg about the camps alleged to have contained homicidal gas chambers. Christie read out the names of the camps, asking Hilberg each time if that camp did or did not have one or more such gas chambers. The answer ought to have been easy for such an eminent specialist but there again Hilberg was out of his depth. Alongside the camps "with" and the camps "without" gas chambers, he created, improvising clumsily, two other categories of camps: those which had "perhaps" had a gas chamber (Dachau, Flossenbürg, Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen) and those which had had a "very small gas chamber" (for example, Struthof-Natzweiler in Alsace), so small that he asked himself whether it was worth the trouble to talk about it (*Transcripts*, page 896); he did not reveal his

criteria for distinguishing among those four categories of camps.

Then Hilberg was asked if he was aware of any expert report establishing that such facilities had in fact been homicidal gas chambers. He first turned a deaf ear, then resorted to evasions, repeating the most inappropriate responses. His delaying tactics became so obvious that Judge Locke, generally so quick to rush to the aid of the prosecution, felt himself obliged to interrupt to ask for an answer. Only then did Hilberg answer, with no further subterfuges, that he was aware of no such report. There are 14 pages of transcript (pp. 968-981) from the moment that embarrassing question was asked until the moment it was finally answered.

Did Hilberg know of an autopsy report establishing that such and such a prisoner's body was the body of someone killed by poison gas? There again the answer was: "No" (*Transcripts*, pp. 983-984).

Since Hilberg, on the other hand, emphasizes the testimony of witnesses so much, he was questioned about the testimony of Kurt Gerstein. He claimed that he had hardly used the confessions of this SS officer in his book at all. To that Christie retorted that, in *The Destruction of the European Jews*, the name of Gerstein was mentioned 23 times and that document PS-1553, an alleged statement by the same Gerstein, was quoted 10 times. Then several fragments of those confessions, in various forms, were read before the jury. Hilberg ended up agreeing that certain parts of the confessions by Gerstein were "pure nonsense" (*Transcripts*, page 904).[1]

It was the same with the confessions of Rudolf Höss. Hilberg, upset, had to admit in one case: "It's terrible" (*Transcripts*, page 1076). About one of the most important "confessions" signed by Höss (PS-3868), he admitted that here we had a man making a statement in a language (English) other than his own (German), a totally impossible statement which "seems to have been a summary of things he said or may have said or may have thought he said by someone who shoved a summary in front of him and he signed, which is *unfortunate*" (*Transcripts*, page 1230 [emphasis mine]). About the fact that, according to this "confession", 2,500,000 people had been gassed in Auschwitz, Hilberg went as far as to say that is was "an obviously unverified, totally exaggerated number, one which may well have been known or circulated as a result of some faulty initial findings by a Soviet Polish investigation commission in Auschwitz" (*Transcripts*, page 1087).

Sensing that he had to throw some dead weight overboard, Hilberg had no trouble in agreeing with Christie that some "historians," like William Shirer, had no value (*Transcripts*, page 1202). He was asked his opinion of the testimony of Filip Müller, the author of *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*. Certain passages from the book, full of the purest sex-shop anti-Nazism, were read to him, and Christie demonstrated before the jury, thanks to an analysis by Revisionist Carlo Mattogno, that Filip Müller or his ghostwriter, Helmut Freitag, were simply guilty of plagiarism for borrowing an entire episode, virtually word for word, from *Doctor at Auschwitz*, the false account bearing the name of Miklos Nyiszli. At that point, Hilberg suddenly changed his tactics; he feigned emotion and, in a pathetic tone, he declared that the testimony of Filip Müller was much too moving for anyone to suspect his sincerity (*Transcripts*, pp. 1151-1152). But everything about this new Hilberg sounded false, since until then he had expressed himself in a monotonous tone and with the circumspection of a cat who was afraid of getting too close to the glowing embers of a fire. Christie did not consider it useful to press the point.

On two questions Hilberg really suffered: first, regarding the supposed orders by Hitler to exterminate the Jews, and then regarding what I personally call "the keystone of the Hilberg thesis." On page 177 of his book (1961 edition), Hilberg finally deals with the heart of his subject: the policy to exterminate the Jews. In a page which serves as a general introduction, he sets out the basis of his demonstration. For Hilberg, everything began with *two* successive orders from Hitler. The first order called for going out to kill the Jews on the spot, especially in Russia (the Einsatzgruppen were assigned that mission); the second mandated seizing the Jews and taking them to the extermination camps (this was the role of Eichmann and of his men). Hilberg did not indicate either the precise date or his sources for these two orders; on the other hand, he did furnish a precise date (25 November 1944) and a reference (document PS-3762) for an order that, according to him, Heinrich Himmler gave to stop the extermination of the Jews when he sensed that defeat was coming (*The Destruction of the European Jews*, page 631).

There would be nothing wrong with Hilberg's thesis if it were true that these orders had existed. But none of the three orders (the two Hitler orders and the Himmler order) ever existed; Hilberg's entire case was based on a mental construct.

But Christie had to stage a virtual war of siege before Hilberg would finally revise his statement and admit that he could not produce these orders. It takes 31 pages of transcript (pp. 828-858) from the point at which Hilberg is asked where the two orders from Hitler are until, having lost the battle, he admits that there were no "traces" of them. Christie also reminded Hilberg of certain statements that the latter had made in February 1983 at Avery Fisher Hall in New York City. There Hilberg himself developed a thesis which would hardly be reconciled with the existence of an extermination order. He said at that time:

> But what began in 1941 was a process of destruction not planned in advance, not organized centrally by any agency. There was no blueprint and there was no budget for destructive measures. They were taken step by step, one step at a time. Thus there came about not so much a plan being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus–mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy. (*Newsday* [Long Island, New York], 23 February 1983, Section II, p. 3)

This convoluted explanation plunges us into the thick of theology and parapsychology. The extermination of the Jews–a gigantic undertaking–was supposedly done without any plan, without any centralizing agency, without a blueprint, without a budget, but by a consensus-mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy, a bureaucracy being a machinery in which, in my opinion, one can expect anything but mind-reading and telepathy.[2]

As regards the order coming from Himmler, Hilberg also admitted that there remained no "trace" of it (*Transcripts*, page 860); the "reference" that he had given as well as the precise date were thus shown to be nothing more than an attempt to intimidate the reader.

But what is there to say about "the keystone of his thesis"? In *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Arthur R. Butz wrote perceptively:

> Hilberg's book did what the opposition literature [Revisionist literature] could never have done. I not only became convinced that the legend of several million gassed Jews must be a hoax, but I derived what turned out to be a fairly reliable "feel" for the remarkable cabalistic mentality that had given the lie its specific form (those who want to experience the "rude awakening" somewhat as I did may stop here and consult pp. 567-571 of Hilberg). (*Hoax*, page 7)

A.R. Butz thus points out (on pp. 567-571 of Hilberg) what represents the center of the Hilberg thesis. In my turn, I wanted to seek "the center of the center," the "keystone," so to speak, of that cabalistic mental construct. I think I have found it at the top of page 570, where we read this:

> The amounts of [Zyklon] required by Auschwitz were not large, but they were noticeable. Almost the whole Auschwitz supply was needed for the gassing of people; very little was used for fumigation. The camp administration itself did not buy the gas. The purchaser was Obersturmführer Gerstein, Chief Disinfection Officer in the Office of the Hygienic Chief of the Waffen-SS (Mrugowsky). As a rule, all orders passed through the hands of TESTA, DEGESCH, and Dessau. From the Dessau Works, which produced the gas, shipments were sent directly to Auschwitz Extermination and Fumigation Division (*Abteilung Entwesung und Entseuchung*).

In that passage, Hilberg says clearly that at Auschwitz there were two uses for Zyklon: for gassing people and for fumigating objects. One single office directed those two activities: the one criminal and the other sanitary. That office even had one name: "*Abteilung Entwesung und Entseuchung*," which Hilberg translated as "Extermination and Fumigation Division." In other words, the Germans made no secret of the extermination of people by gas at Auschwitz since in that camp there was an office duly and clearly provided for that criminal activity. There was only one problem for Hilberg: "*Entwesung*" means "disinfection" and not "extermination" of human beings (however, "*Entseuchung*" does mean "disinfection"). Confronted with that evidence, which we established with the help of dictionaries, Hilberg made the mistake of trying to support his own translation and, during his re-examination by Mr. Griffiths, he brought a German dictionary to prove that "*Entwesung*" is made up of "*ent-*," meaning separation and "*Wesen*" which means "being" (*Transcripts*, page 1237). This was done to confuse (or rather to *try* to confuse for the sake of his cause) etymology and meaning. Even Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths appeared upset by his expert witness's laborious subterfuge, by which he had gone so far as to choose a German dictionary in which the word "*Entwesung*" did not appear– merely the word "*Wesen*."

A short time after the trial, I discovered that Hilberg had committed perjury. While still under the oath that he had taken in January of 1985, Hilberg dared to state before judge and jury that in the new edition of his book, then at press, he

still maintained the existence of those orders from Hitler of which he had just admitted no trace could be found (*Transcripts*, page 852). But he lied. In the new edition, the preface of which is dated September 1984 (Hilberg testified under oath in January 1985), all mention of an order from Hitler was systematically removed; his colleague and friend Christopher Browning pointed this out in a review entitled "The Revised Hilberg" (*Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, 1988, page 294):

> In the new edition, all references in the text to a Hitler decision of Hitler order for the "Final Solution" have been systematically excised. Buried at the bottom of a single footnote stands the solitary reference: "Chronology and circumstances point to a Hitler decision before the summer [of 1941] ended." In the new edition, decisions were not made and orders were not given.

This fact is important. It proves that, in order to be sure of convicting Ernst Zündel (whose thesis is that there had never been any order from Hitler or anyone else to exterminate the Jews), a university professor did not shrink from resorting to lying and perjury. That's the kind of person Raul Hilberg is, a professor and a researcher who in the coming years will have to face "the failure of a lifetime" (*Transcripts*, page 948).

## The Unmasking of Their Number One Witness: Rudolf Vrba

Witness Rudolf Vrba was internationally known. A Slovakian Jew, imprisoned at Auschwitz and Birkenau, Vrba stated that he had escaped the Birkenau camp in April of 1944 along with Alfred Wetzler. When he returned to Slovakia, he said, he dictated a report about Auschwitz, Birkenau and their crematories and "gas chambers."

With the help of Slovakian, Hungarian and Swiss Jewish authorities, the report arrived in Washington, where it served as the basis for the famous "War Refugee Board Report" published in November, 1944. Thus every Allied organization charged with pursuing "war criminals" and every Allied prosecutor responsible for trying "war criminals" would have access to this official—and fabricated—version of the history of the camps. Rudolf Vrba and his companion Alfred Wetzler are at the origin of the official acceptance of the Auschwitz myth. A.R. Butz has admirably demonstrated that (see, in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, the references to "Vrba" and to the "WRB Report").

After the war, Vrba became a British citizen. He published the story of his life under the title *I Cannot Forgive*; published in 1964, it was actually written by a ghostwriter, Alan Bestic, who, in his preface, dared to pay tribute to Vrba "for the immense trouble he took over every detail; for the meticulous, almost fanatical respect he revealed for accuracy; . . ." (page 2).

On 30 November 1964 Vrba testified at the "Frankfurt [Auschwitz] Trial." Thereafter he settled in Canada and took Canadian citizenship. He appeared in various filmed reports about Auschwitz and, in particular, in Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah*. Today he lives in Vancouver, where he is an associate professor in pharmacology at the University of British Columbia.

The gods smiled on Vrba until the day he faced Doug Christie. Arthur Butz's book provided us with some excellent elements to serve as the basis for Vrba's cross-examination. My documents (especially the "Calendar of Events in the Auschwitz Camp," the studies contained in the various volumes of the blue Auschwitz *Anthology*, Serge Klarsfeld's *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France*, and various documents from the archives of the Auschwitz Museum) enabled us to ask Vrba some embarrassing questions. The impostor was unmasked in particular on three points: his supposed knowledge of the gas chambers and crematories of Birkenau; Himmler's alleged visit to Birkenau in January of 1943 for the inauguration of a new crematory with, at its highpoint, the gassing of 3,000 persons; and the supposed total of 1,750,000 Jews gassed at Birkenau from April 1942 to April 1944.

On the first point, it became clear that the witness had never set foot in the crematories and "gas chambers," for which he had even provided a plan—totally false—in his report to the War Refugee Board (November 1944), a plan that in 1985 he boldly persisted in claiming was true. Nothing corresponded to the truth: neither the arrangement of the rooms, nor their dimensions, nor the number of ovens, nor the number of muffles; for example, the witness placed the "gas chamber" and the room with the crematory ovens on the same level, with a sketch of a railway track running from one to the other for the flat car; in reality the room with the crematory ovens was located on the ground floor, while the "gas chamber" (in fact, a morgue) was located below ground, and no railway track could have linked an underground room with a room located on the ground floor.

Regarding the second point, Vrba likewise made up everything. Himmler's last visit to Birkenau took place in July 1942; furthermore, in January 1943, the first of the new crematories at Birkenau was far from finished (we even have documents from the construction staff which mention the construction problems caused by the winter cold). Vrba's book opens grandly with the alleged 1943 visit, described with a great wealth of detail; even the reflections and conversations of Himmler and of his entourage were reported. But all of that, too, derived from Vrba's imagination.

The witness had an exceptional amount of nerve. He claimed to have been everywhere at once, both day and night, in the vast Birkenau camp. He had seen everything and had remembered it all, thanks, he said, to "special mnemonic principles" (*Transcripts*, page 1563). According to Vrba, the Germans had "*gassed*" about 1,750,000 Jews *in Birkenau alone* in the space of just 25 months (from April 1942 to April 1944). Of that figure, 150,000 came from France. But Serge Klarsfeld, in 1978, in his *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France*, had concluded that, during the entire length of the war, the Germans had *deported* to *all* their concentration camps a total of only 75,721 Jews (French, foreign, and stateless) from France. Vrba was asked to explain his particular estimate of 150,000 and his general estimate of 1,750,000. He began by calling the figure of 75,721 false. "From where do you have the figure? From the Nazi newspapers?" he asked (*Transcripts*, page 1579); but the number came from Serge Klarsfeld, a "Nazi-hunter." Then he tried to supply a justification for his own numbers, but to no avail, as we shall see below.

Despite his nerve, Vrba was forced into headlong retreat regarding his book. Instead of maintaining that in the book he had shown the greatest care for truth and accuracy, he declared that it was just a literary effort in which he had had recourse to poetic license. He used the following expressions:

> "an artistic picture," "an attempt for an artistic depiction," "a literary essay," "an artistic attempt," "art piece in literature," "literature," "artist," "license of a poet," "licentia poetarum" (*Transcripts*, pp. 1390, 1392, 1446-1448).

In brief, for the number one witness for the prosecution, this cross-examination was a disaster. We waited with curiosity to see how Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths would attempt, during the re-examination, to repair his witness's image. To everyone's surprise, Griffiths, probably exhausted by the trial

and exasperated by the lies of the witness on whom he had counted so much, finished off Vrba with two questions that came like two rifle shots. His first question—listened to by a hushed courtroom—was the following:

> You told Mr. Christie several times in discussing your book *I Cannot Forgive* that you used poetic license in writing that book. Have you used poetic license in your testimony? (*Transcripts*, page 1636)

Vrba, upset, mumbled a response, following which, without a pause, Griffiths asked his second question:

> Could you tell us, Doctor, briefly, how you arrived at the number of 1,765,000? (*Transcripts*, page 1637)

In order to appreciate fully both the question in its context and also the use of the word "briefly," we must point out that Vrba had been asked that same question by Doug Christie on several occasions and that each of his attempts to answer it had been interminable, confused, absurd and sometimes even unintentionally humorous. In responding to Griffith's question, Vrba was at a loss to avoid repeating himself:

> I developed a special mnemonical method for remembering each transport. (*Transcripts*, page 1639)

Griffiths, getting a little bit lost in his documentation, announced that he was going to ask one last question about Himmler's visit. He asked for an adjournment of the session. When the session resumed, Vrba took his place on the stand or, more exactly, in the witness box, located on an elevated platform between the judge and the jury. He waited for the return of the jury and the question on Himmler's visit. Then Griffiths, addressing the judge, declared:

> Just before the jury is brought in, Your Honor, I will have no questions of Dr. Vrba. (*Transcripts*, page 1641)

Everyone was amazed. Vrba looked completely crushed and the color drained from his face. He staggered down from the witness stand. Whereas on the first day he had seen the journalists and cameras crowding around him as befitted a witness who was going to set the Revisionists straight, on this last day he left the courthouse in the most frightening solitude. I am not pleading on behalf of Mr. Vrba; he has the arrogance of a professional impostor; he will hold up his head again, he will go back to his lies once more, I am convinced of that.[3]

## Defeat and Victory of Ernst Zündel

The trial had taken a turn in our favor. I don't want to say that at that moment the jury would have acquitted Zündel; such a decision, taken in front of the judge, the journalists, and public opinion, would have demanded the kind of courage that is difficult, if not impossible, to find in a group of twelve persons picked at random from a society which has been subjected to the familiar propaganda about "Nazi crimes" for forty years. But Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths was obviously dejected.

Then came the witnesses and experts for the defense. Griffiths became even more disconcerted. He had not expected such a wealth of information from the Revisionists. Judge Locke was in a constant state of anger. He threatened that at the end of the trial he would charge Doug Christie with contempt of court. This sword of Damocles remained, until the final day, hanging over our lawyer's head.

Then the tide turned again in favor of the prosecution. Doug Christie decided to use the testimony of Zündel himself. *Perhaps* that was a mistake. For Griffiths then had the chance to cross-examine Zündel and disaster loomed on the horizon.

Zündel was certainly worthy of admiration but, by his refusal to condemn National Socialism, he convicted himself. Zündel's erudition, his unstudied eloquence, his sincerity, the highmindedness of his views were all forgotten in comparison with the admiration he was shown to have for Adolf Hitler and the compassion he exhibited for his German fatherland, which had been humiliated and mistreated by its conquerors. Griffiths, weak, nervous, and, as we were to learn later, exhausted by insomnia and excessive smoking, regained hope. In his summation he described Zündel as a dangerous Nazi. Judge Locke, in his own final address to the jury, did the same. The jury followed their lead. Zündel was found guilty of distributing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, but not guilty of sending people, especially outside of Canada, a personal message entitled "The West, the War, and Islam." He was sentenced to 15 months in prison, and was forbidden to talk about the Holocaust.

In January of 1987, a five-person appeals court decided to throw out the verdict and to cancel the 1985 conviction. They did so for some very basic reasons: Judge Locke had not allowed the defense any voice in the choice of the jury; he had improperly forbidden our experts to use documents, photos

and various other materials, and he had, in his final address, misled the jury on the very meaning of the trial.

Once again, Zündel and the Revisionists lost in Judge Locke's court but won before history. As mentioned above, Zündel had predicted that his trial would "put the Nuremberg trial on trial" and would be "the Exterminationists' Stalingrad." Events proved him right. But I fear that some day his health or even his life will fall prey to this terrible legal ordeal, especially in view of the fact that the Canadian government will stage a "Zündel Trial No. 2" in 1988, an even longer and more severe trial than that of 1985 [convicted once again, Zündel is appealing the verdict once more.—Ed].

## II. JUDICIAL AFFAIRS AND OTHER AFFAIRS

Between September 1983 to September 1987, the legal repression against Revisionism in France was relatively mild. The Jewish organizations, disappointed by my conviction of 26 April 1983, decided to attack Revisionism by an indirect route: they chose a German officer, Klaus Barbie, as their target and they obtained his conviction. Barbie's trial and conviction were often described as a response to the rise of Revisionism.

The print and the broadcast press both played an essential role in this situation. The journalists, acting as both policemen and judges, orchestrated such a campaign against Klaus Barbie that only a maximum conviction of the accused was possible. At the same time, during those four years, they drummed up, one after the other, what are called "affairs" (the "Roques affair," the "Paschoud affair," the "Le Pen affair" and many others) which served them as occasions to call for a new legal repression. The most violent of the newspapers was *Le Monde*. On 1 July 1987, the French Federation of Journalist Societies asked the judicial authorities to penalize and silence the Revisionists. On 20 September, Charles Pasqua, Minister of the Interior, said that the place for me was in prison. A specific law against Revisionism is being prepared: a sort of "lex Faurissonia."

During the period under consideration three other events marked the rise of anti-Revisionism: the exhibition of the film *Shoah*, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Elie Wiesel, and, finally, the beginning, in Jerusalem, of the Demjanjuk trial. With only one exception (the case of the *Dalloz-Sirey* review), the French court system continued to repress Revisionism, but with a growing embarrassment. The

repression was demanded by the journalists of France, at the insistance of Claude Lanzmann.

I shall now review in detail those various judicial and non-judicial affairs.

### I Obtain the Conviction of the *Dalloz-Sirey* Review

The Jewish organizations were not only disappointed by my conviction of 26 April 1983; they were also disconcerted by the fact that I, on the other hand, obtained the conviction of the judicial review called *Recueil Dalloz-Sirey* (in the Court of First Instance, in the Court of Appeal, and in the Supreme Court of Appeal). In France this review has the reputation of being "the jurists' bible." It publishes, in particular, noteworthy judicial decisions with commentaries called "notes under judgment." *Dalloz-Sirey* showed eagerness to publish the text of my initial conviction of 8 July 1981 (issue of 3 February 1982, pp. 59-64); that judgment, which was to be confirmed on appeal on 26 April 1983, but significantly modified in its basis, was marked, in my opinion, by a certain desire to punish; it was drawn up by one of my three judges, Pierre Drai, who turned out to be a Jew and a faithful subscriber to *Information juive*. But apparently Judge Drai had not yet expressed himself harshly enough regarding my case.

Therefore, the editor chosen by *Dalloz-Sirey* to present the judgment of 8 July 1981 and comment on it in a long "note under judgment" decided to go much farther. He proceeded in two ways: 1) He falsified the text of the judgment so as to smear me even more; and 2) he drew up a "note under judgment" with a tone so violent and so vengeful that one would have thought it had been written by Ilya Ehrenburg. The writer in question was Bernard Edelman, a lawyer, a former Communist of Jewish stock and a friend of Pierre Vidal-Naquet. Edelman presented me in his note as a proponent of the "method of absolute lying."

*Dalloz-Sirey* had never been successfully taken to court since its founding at the beginning of the 19th century. This time the review was convicted for "damages" for the manner in which it had reproduced the judgment of 8 July 1981. *Dalloz-Sirey* had to publish the text of its own conviction (edition of 4 July 1985, pp. 375-376) and to pay me . . . one franc in damages. The initial conviction took place on 23 November 1983; the decision was sustained on appeal on 8 March 1985; and a further appeal was dismissed by the Supreme Court of Appeal on 15 December 1986. Edelman had performed the trick of

cutting out 57 percent of the text of the judgment of 8 July 1981!

## Ruinous Effects of My Trials

Almost inevitably, when I win my trials, I receive one franc in damages; when the other party wins, I have to pay significant and sometimes considerable sums.

The attacks against my person had become so violent and so outrageously false that I decided to appeal to the courts in two out of thousands of possible cases. On the one hand, I sued Jean Pierre-Bloch, president of the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA) and the author of a book of memoirs in which he presented me as a Nazi and a falsifier who had been convicted of as much by the French courts. On the other hand, I sued the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité*.

I lost these two trials, as well as the appeals. The judges recognized that I had been defamed, but, they added, my adversaries had done so "in good faith." Consequently, they had to be acquitted and I was forced to pay all court costs. The *Droit de Vivre* (February 1985, page 7), the publication of the LICRA, triumphantly captioned its story: "To treat Faurisson as a falsifier is to defame him, but in 'good faith.'" This was an invitation for everyone to treat me as a falsifier, and that is what happened.

By the decree of 26 April 1983, I was sentenced to pay the costs of publishing that entire verdict. The judges estimated the expenses of publication at 60,000 francs, "with the possibility of a more accurate valuation being made later in view of the estimates and bills," which meant that 60,000 francs was only a minimum. Without submitting the text to me, the LICRA arranged to have it published in the magazine *Historia*. That text was seriously falsified. I sued the LICRA and got one franc in damages. That notwithstanding, I had to pay 20,000 francs for their publication of a distorted text. About sixty thousand francs of my salary was seized. At this time LICRA is again, as ever, demanding more and more money; it gets the money but keeps it, and still hasn't published the correct text of the 1983 verdict.

## The Barbie Trial

The trial of Klaus Barbie and the hysteria it provoked was the occasion for legal measures against French Revisionists. Jacques Vergès courageously defended Barbie who, at the

time of the act with which he was charged in France, was only a lieutenant; it was his duty to assure the security of his comrades. In 1939 France had entered the war against Germany; in 1940, we had promised our conquerors to collaborate with them. Had Lieutenant Barbie carried out reprisals in Lyon and the surrounding district in retaliation for the actions of the Resistance, the Communists and the Jews in the same manner as the Israeli authorities retaliate against the Palestinians (i.e., with massive numbers of 500 kilogram bombs), the cost for the French population, in human lives and destruction of all kinds, would have been still more terrible than it was.

Jacques Vergès seems to have demonstrated that the famous telegram from Izieu (which is genuine and has nothing criminal about it) did not bear the signature of Klaus Barbie, but I personally do not have the documents which served as the basis for his demonstration and which allowed him to state that Serge Klarsfeld had been the source of that forgery; I therefore cannot make any judgment on that matter. On the other hand, I can say that at the Lyon trial German prosecutor Holtfort, who came to testify for the prosecution, and André Cerdini, who presided over the court, used an altered document: the Dannecker note of 13 May 1942. This note is found at the Center for Jewish Documentation in Paris as document XXVb-29. In the document Theodor Dannecker mentions, in passing, a chance conversation he had with Lieutenant General Kohl, who was responsible in Paris for rail transportation; in the course of that conversation Kohl appeared to Dannecker to be an "enemy" ("*Gegner*") of the Jews, agreeing 100 per cent with "a final solution to the Jewish question with the goal of a total destruction of the enemy" ("*eine Endlösung der Judenfrage mit dem Ziel restloser Vernichtung des Gegners*"). Presented this way, the sentence could give the impression that Dannecker and Kohl knew of the existence of a policy to exterminate the Jews. In reality, this sentence means that Kohl was 100 per cent in agreement with finally resolving the Jewish question; the Jew is the enemy and, by definition, an enemy must be wiped out. But it is not at all clear that he meant them to be physically wiped out; indeed the following sentence, which is always left out, provides some clarification: Kohl "showed himself also to be an enemy of the political churches" ("*Er zeigte sich auch als Gegner der politischen Kirchen.*"). The "enemy" camps are here clearly delineated: on the one hand, Germany and, on the

other hand, the Jews and the political churches. Kohl wanted to wipe out or eradicate the influence or the power of those two enemies of Germany. In neither case was it a question of physical annihilation. The nine word German sentence is always left out and replaced with an ellipsis ( . . . ) since it is too embarrassing for the Exterminationists.

Among the historians who have not hesitated to use such trickery, I will mention only:

> Joseph Billig, "Le Cas du SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Lischka," *Le Monde juif*, July-September 1974, p. 29; reprinted three years later in Billig's *La Solution finale de la question juive*, Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1977, p. 94;
>
> Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de France*, 1978, p. 28;
>
> Georges Wellers, "Déportation des Juifs de France, Légendes et réalités," *Le Monde juif*, July-September 1980, p. 97;
>
> Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, New York, Basic Books, 1981, p. 351.

On the spot, in Lyon, I gave Jacques Vergès an urgent letter informing him of the nature of that trickery, intended to convince people that, if Kohl and Dannecker were aware of the extermination of the Jews, Barbie could not have been ignorant of it. Unfortunately, Vergès had decided not to question the dogma of the extermination of the Jews and, to the very end, he maintained that policy of prudence. Following the example of so many German lawyers, he preferred to plead that Barbie "did not know" that the Jews were being exterminated.

## On the Margin of the Barbie Trial

During the Barbie trial, life became difficult for Revisionists, especially in Lyon, where police and journalists set up guard. On several occasions the police called me in but I refused to attend their convocations, declaring that I preferred prison to "collaborating with the police and the French courts in the repression of Revisionism." Threatened with arrest, I remained firm. At the movies, they were showing *Shoah*; in the theater, they presented a piece on the Auschwitz trial (Frankfurt, 1963-65); on a large square in Lyon, the Jews organized an exposition—essentially symbolic—about the

Holocaust; in the schools, they vigorously indoctrinated teachers and students; in the local press they incited hatred of Barbie and the Revisionists. Around the court house, the forces of law and order were present with walkie-talkies, "just severe enough to discourage Revisionist demonstrations" (*Le Monde*, 18 June 1987, page 14).

This volatile situation was ignited by the appearance, just before the opening of the trial (only by coincidence), of the first issue of the *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* and by a leaflet, informal and polemical in tone, entitled "Info-Intox . . . Histoire-Intox . . . ça suffit. CHAMBRES A GAZ = BIDON" (Information-Intox[ication] . . . History-Intox[ication] . . . That's enough. GAS CHAMBERS = HOAX) and signed by a "Collective of High School Students of Lyon, Nancy and Strasbourg"; on the reverse side, the leaflet included drawings by cartoonist Konk showing the chemical impossibility of the Auschwitz gassings.

This witch-hunt atmosphere, in which the newspaper *Le Monde* stood out by its violence of tone, sometimes had laughable results. People suddenly thought that they had found traces of Revisionism in a scholarly work published eight years ago by a Jewish publishing firm, which hurriedly rushed to announce that the book's printing plates would be melted down at the earliest possible moment (*Le Matin de Paris*, 21 May 1987, page 12; *Le Monde*, 24/25 May 1987 page 10). A few days later, Serge July, director of *Libération*, after finding out that two Revisionist letters had slipped into the letters-to-the-editor column of his paper, ordered his own newspaper seized at the newsstands, fired the editor of the letters column on the spot, and decided to completely remake the paper's editorial board (*Libération*, 28 May 1987, page 34; 29 May 1987, page 45; *Le Monde*, 3 June 1987, page 48). The Gaullist deputy Jacques Chaban-Delmas appealed to French youth for a new form of Resistance: resistance against Revisionism (according to *Rivarol*, 29 May 1987, page 8). The publishers of high school history books had already received advice and threats from the "Comité des enseignants amis d'Israel" (Friends of Israel Teachers Committee) (*Sens*, December 1986, pp. 323-329) which left no doubt that on the occasion of the Barbie affair "scholarly editors ought to be aware of the eventual negative impact on the sale of their publications of any failure to follow suggestions" (*ibid.*, page 325).

## Journalists Demand an Immediate Judicial Repression

Claude Lanzmann was distressed by the lack of success in France of his film *Shoah*, and by the impossibility of attacking me in court for the text (full of factual proof and references) that I had devoted to that propaganda landmark.[4] Pierre Guillaume, in fact, published and distributed that text with a title borrowed from a slogan dating back to the days of May 1968: "Open Your Eyes, Smash Your TV Set!". Lanzmann turned to Agence France-Presse (AFP) and got from it an initiative which will live in the history of the world press. On 1 July 1987, AFP published a long statement giving vent to its emotion about the Revisionist criticisms addressed to *Shoah* and demanding, consequently, that court authorities bring about "an immediate halt to the machinations of the Revisionists"—in the name of . . . "respect for free inquiry and the Rights of Man."

My analysis of *Shoah* was denounced as unspeakable. The text of the statement read as follows:

> The Federation believes that individuals like Robert Faurisson ought not to be able to write with impunity that which they are writing and disseminating. Unspeakable behavior and racism have their limits. The ethics of journalism forbid people to knowingly write just anything, the craziest anti-truths, with scorn for the truth and therefore for freedom to know. To smear a film like *Shoah*, which can only be seen with a terrible awe and infinite compassion, amounts to nothing more than an attack on the Rights of Man.

The Federation went on:

> The journalist is always a witness to his times, and in that sense Claude Lanzmann has done an admirable job as a journalist, for ten years gathering the most frightening testimonies, not only from the victims, but from their butchers, and from the Poles living near the camps. It is horrible, and that no doubt is what embarrasses the Revisionists, who apparently have not yet recovered from the Nazi defeat.

The Federation concluded:

> In the midst of the Barbie trial, and when Revisionist activities are increasing, it is urgent that the judicial authorities in the name of respect for free inquiry and the Rights of Man punish such unspeakable tracts and their authors, while at the same time preventing them from doing it again.
>
> The French Federation of Journalistic societies includes more than twenty societies (notably TF1, A-2, FR-3, Agence

France-Presse, *Le Monde, Sud-Ouest, L'Equipe* . . .), more than 2,000 journalists in all.

This communique was to have serious consequences. TF-1, A-2, and FR-3 are the three principal French television networks; Agence France-Presse is our primary press agency; *Le Monde* is the most prestigious of our newspapers; *Sud-Ouest* is the daily with the highest circulation in France; *L'Equipe* is the most widely read and most popular of the sport papers. I thus found myself condemned by what amounted to the whole of the mass media in my country; even the sports journalists condemned Revisionism. The Revisionists were described as individuals with shameful arguments, spreading shameful ideas and racism, writing just about anything—the craziest anti-truths—scorning the truth and freedom of inquiry, harming the Rights of Man, still not yet recovered from the Nazi defeat. In particular, the Revisionists had smeared an unchallengeable and admirable film that one could view only with terrible awe and infinite compassion.

## Seizure of the *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* and Indictment (in Auch, France)

The mass media unanimously called on the judges for help; they demanded an immediate and permanent repression "in the name of respect for free inquiry and the Rights of Man." *Le Monde* distinguished itself by the intemperance of its attacks; in less than two months, it mentioned the Revisionists in more than twenty articles which were uniformly hostile; Bruno Frappat, for his part, denounced "the experts at lying, the gangsters of history" (*Le Monde*, 5/6 July 1987, page 31).

The judicial machinery immediately went into action. On 25 May 1987, with remarkable promptness, the Judge of Summary Procedure in Paris, Gérard Pluyette, at the instigation of Jean Pierre-Bloch, had already ordered the seizure of the first issue of the *Annales*. On 3 July someone named Legname, the investigating magistrate at Auch (department of the Gers), charged me with being an apologist for war crimes and with spreading false news on the basis of two of my articles published in the first issue of the *Annales*: one was entitled "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss, Commandant of Auschwitz,"[5] and the other was entitled "Jewish Soap." Pierre Guillaume was charged for the same reason since he was the publisher of *Annales*. Carlo Mattogno was also charged, due to his study of "The Myth of

the Extermination of the Jews." An Italian citizen, he was, on 10 August 1987, the object of an international arrest warrant. The entire process had been set in motion by someone named Robin, the prosecutor at Auch, at the request of Madame Lydie Dupuis, an official of the League for the Rights of Man and a relation of François Mitterrand, the President of France.

On 20 September 1987, Charles Pasqua, Minister of the Interior, declared on the radio that as far as he was concerned the place for Professor Faurisson was in prison ("Charles Pasqua: Les thèses révisionnistes, véritable délit," *Le Figaro*, 21 September 1987, page 7).

A specific law against the Revisionists (a sort of "lex Faurissonia") is currently being prepared. It is even more severe than the June 1985 German law (the "Auschwitzlüge-Gesetz").

## The Roques Affair

I will not linger on the Roques affair since Henri Roques, who is here, will make his own presentation on it. For my part I will only recall one aspect that illustrates the progress of Revisionism. In February 1979, Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, both Jewish in origin, were able to mobilize 32 persons, described as "historians," to sign a petition, the so-called "declaration of the 34 historians," against me (*Le Monde*, 21 February 1979, page 23). (Not all the signers were of Jewish origin.) In 1986, François Bedarida, a Christian of Jewish origin, succeeded in mobilizing against Roques only five "historians" (Pierre Vidal-Naquet and four other persons of Jewish origin), a rabbi and, finally, a media personality named Harlem Désir, who is himself perhaps also of Jewish origin (see *Libération*, 31 May 1986, page 12; *Le Monde*, 3 June 1986, page 14).

## The Paschoud Affair (Switzerland)

Then, in Switzerland, came the Paschoud affair. Mariette Paschoud, 40, lives in Lausanne. She teaches history and literature in a high school in that city. Mrs. Paschoud is also a captain in the Swiss Army, and an auxiliary military judge. She visited Paris in order to preside over a conference at which Henri Roques was to present his thesis about the confessions of Kurt Gerstein. While not taking up the cudgels for the Revisionist thesis, she did plead in favor of the right to doubt and to research. The Swiss press attacked her so violently that the authorities of the canton of Vaud, her

employers, felt they had to take quick action: Mariette Paschoud was deprived of the right to teach history. But Rabbi Vadnaï of Lausanne felt that punishment was not enough. A new campaign was launched: Mariett Paschoud no longer has the right to teach either history or literature; her husband has been dismissed by the private school at which he was teaching a course in law.

### The Noyon Affair (Switzerland)

Pierre Guillaume and myself were invited to visit the Documentary Film Festival at Noyon, Switzerland. The organizers were setting a trap for us: they were going to invite Exterminationist historians to reply to us, and would also show the films *Night and Fog* and *Le Temps du ghetto* (The Time of the Ghetto). Learning we had arrived in town, the Exterminationists sent a telegram at the last moment: they refused to meet us. The entire operation redounded to our advantage in spite of a scandal caused at the end by a local television celebrity who, perceiving our impact on the listeners, cried out that he found our presentation "obscene." A few Swiss newspapers headlined the event. The organizers of the festival discovered (a little too late) the "serious and dangerous" character of Revisionism.

Later, Pierre Guillaume returned to Switzerland with Henri Roques to deliver a paper there. The conference took place in difficult conditions and, as a result, the Swiss government prohibited Guillaume and Roques from entering Swiss territory (and Liechtenstein) for a period of three and a half years (*Le Monde*, 6 December 1986, page 7).

### The Konk Affair

Konk (real name: Laurent Fabre) is a famous cartoonist. He started out at *Le Monde* and went on to the weekly *L'Evénement du jeudi*, published by J.F. Kahn. Konk is considered a leftist. He also showed himself to be a Revisionist. In a cartoon strip entitled *Aux Voleurs!* (Albin Michel, 1986), denouncing theft, lies and imposture under various forms, Konk summed up quite pertinently my argument about the chemical impossibility of the Auschwitz "gassings" in several drawings and captions. I recommend the reading of the three last pages of that strip to those who want to have a striking summary of Revisionism that even young school children can understand and enjoy.[6]

Konk was barred from the pages of *L'Evénement du jeudi* by J.F. Kahn. Recently, Konk gave an interview in which he delivered a sort of retraction (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 25 September 1987, page 93). On the night before the publication of that interview he telephoned me to warn me and, at the same time, to explain to me that, banned everywhere and unable to find work, he had found himself reduced to the extremity of a public recantation. From time to time *Le Figaro* still publishes a drawing by Konk but there is no contract tying the cartoonist to the newspaper. In general, when I see a new Revisionist suddenly appear on the public stage, as was the case with Konk, I ask myself how many days it will take for him to retract.

## The Folco Affair

Michel Folco is a journalist and photographer. He works chiefly for a monthly satirical journal, *Zéro*, directed by Cavanna, whose inspiration is libertarian. Despite his detached appearance, he is a scrupulous and thorough investigator. Starting with an investigation of Mauthausen, he ended up gathering a great deal of new information about the controversy between the Revisionists and the Exterminationists which future historians will not be able to ignore. His interviews with Georges Wellers, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, and Germaine Tillion illuminate a completely hidden face of the Exterminationist camp. It is regrettable that Cavanna abruptly put an end to Folco's articles because of his fear of the reaction of certain persons (see in particular *Zéro*, April 1987, pp. 51-57, and May 1987, pp. 70-75).

## The Union of Atheists Affair

The Holocaust is a religion. It is necessary to seek to protect onself from its conquering and intolerant character. I wanted to know whether it was possible to lead an action against that religion among the ranks of the Union of Atheists, which in France includes about 2,500 people. I joined the Union of Atheists, which the Union's constitution states anyone can do, without any condition, even financial. The constitution also states that no one may be excluded. My membership caused a backlash, which the major press amplified. There followed a hundred resignations in protest against my entry. The president, Albert Beaughon, asked me to resign. I refused. The annual congress of the Union of Atheists took place in tumult. I persisted in my refusal to resign and awaited the results. To

borrow a phrase from Pierre Guillaume, "these atheists wanted to excommunicate [me] because they did not find [me] Catholic enough." But I must say also that I have learned that a good number of atheists, within the Union, defended me out of their concern for tolerance and, sometimes, out of Revisionist convictions (see, in particular, *Libération*, 6/7 June 1987, and 8 June 1987, page 18).

### The Guionnet Affair

Alain Guionnet is a libertarian and Revisionist. He produces numerous tracts which he signs "The Black Eagle," courageously distributing them himself. Guionnet is the object of several different court cases. Jewish organizations and police and court authorities are upset by the phenomenon which is Guionnet: a man of blunt talk (sometimes slangy, sometimes mannered), a person difficult and unpredictable in character.

### The Michel Polac and Annette Levy-Willard Affairs

Michel Polac is a star of French television. Of Jewish background, he has always struggled against Revisionism. In the past several years he has attacked me again and again. In May, 1987 he declared on television that I ought to be slapped in the face. On 12 September he showed a short excerpt from a video-film by Annette Levy-Willard, *L'Espion qui venait de l'extrême droite* (called in English *The Other Face of Terror*), devoted in part to our IHR conference in September of 1983.

In June of 1983 Annette Levy-Willard begged me to give her the address of the Los Angeles hotel where the conference was to be held. With the approval of Willis Carto, she was given the address in September. At the conference site she conducted her interviews in such a way and with such anti-Revisionist animosity that I refused to grant her an interview. Instead, I offered to make a one-minute statement before her camera. She agreed, but once I was on camera she prevented me from making that statement. I left, refusing to answer her questions. Furious, Levy-Willard confronted me in the lobby of the Grand Hotel, saying several times that she would have her revenge; Tom Marcellus, the Institute's director, was present. The lady's vengeance took the form of the video-film (*The Other Face of Terror*), in which she claimed to have discovered us in Los Angeles secretly holding an assembly of neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klan members. They saw me, she said, as I was trying to hide (*sic!*).

Michel Polac promised at the end of his show that the following week he would give time to reply to anyone who felt he needed to defend himself. Accompanied by my two lawyers, I went to Paris the following week, to the studios where the taping of the show was taking place. Michel Polac simply had our entry barred by the guards and sent plainclothes and uniformed police after us.

### The Jacques Chancel and Gilbert Salomon Affair

Jacques Chancel is another French radio and television star. Chancel invited me to come and debate one Gilbert Salomon on his radio program on 18 September 1987. I gladly accepted. After arriving in Paris, I learned that my presence on that broadcast would be "intolerable"; I had to return to Vichy. The broadcast featured only Jacques Chancel, Gilbert Salomon and several other resolutely anti-Revisionist voices. I was repeatedly insulted *in absentia.* Gilbert Salomon went so far as to admit that if I had been there he would probably have hit me. He was introduced by his "intimate friend, almost brother" Jacques Chancel as having been interned at Auschwitz for two years to the day, from 11 April 1943 to 11 April 1945; Salomon claimed that he had been the only escapee from a convoy of 1,100 Jews.

The truth is that Salomon arrived in Auschwitz on 1 May 1944, which is more than a year after the date that he gave during the broadcast, and that he was transferred from Auschwitz to Buchenwald, where he was liberated in April 1945; Salomon's convoy included 1,004 Jews, and Serge Klarsfeld, in spite of his manipulation of statistics, was obliged to recognize in his *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France* (and the additional volumes) that after 1945 at least 51 Jews from that convoy had spontaneously come to the Ministry for Prisoners to report that they were alive. Furthermore, I discovered that Gilbert Salomon was counted by Serge Klarsfeld among . . . the gassed! The name of Gilbert Salomon, today a millionaire known in France as "the meat king," therefore appears, under the heading of those gassed, on a monument in Jerusalem at which all the names included in the above-mentioned *Memorial* are listed as if they were Jews who had died after being deported.

### The Le Pen Affair

Jean-Marie Le Pen is the leader of the National Front, a populist movement which has more than thirty deputies in the

National Assembly.[7] He is a candidate for the presidency of the Republic. On 13 September 1987, on the televised broadcast "RTL-*Le Monde* Grand Jury," Le Pen was suddenly questioned on "the Faurisson and Roques theses." During his answer, he said:

> I am terribly interested in the history of World War II. I have asked myself a certain number of questions about it. I do not say that the gas chambers did not exist. I myself was not able to see them. I have not made a special study of the matter. But I believe they are a footnote to the history of World War II.

One must listen carefully to the complete recording of that rather confused interview in order to understand the situation in which Le Pen found himself and what he meant to say. The transcripts which appeared in the press are faulty. I personally listened, word by word, to the statments of Le Pen and of the journalists who interrupted him on several occasions. For me, it is clear that Le Pen, beginning with the first question, lost his composure; he was aware of the seriousness of the subject broached, and an abyss opened under his feet. He collected his wits as he spoke but the interruptions by the journalists made him lose his train of thought.

Le Pen did use the expression "point de detail."[8] The expression was unfortunate and did not accurately express what he wanted to say. What he wanted to say is what many Exterminationists end up telling me in what discussions I have with them: "Whether the gas chambers existed or not, that is a detail." I have heard, twenty times or more, people who believe in the Exterminationist thesis use that argument when they finally realize, in the midst of our conversation, that the gas chambers, after all, can't really have existed. Jean-Marie Le Pen, for his part, defended the opinion that the means of making the Jews disappear was only a footnote, in view of the fact of their disappearance. In effect, if one admits that there was, for example, an assassination, the weapon used to commit the crime is of relatively little import relative to the fact of the killing. It is ironic that an argument invoked by the Exterminationists to defend their thesis about the extermination of the Jews was considered a crime for Le Pen, whom people suspect—not without reason, in my opinion—of Revisionism.

Another irony was that no Revisionist would agree with Le Pen in saying that the gas chambers are a footnote to the history of World War II. In fact, without this specific weapon

used to carry it out, the specific crime of genocide is physically inconceivable. *Without a system of destruction there is no systematic destruction. Without the gas chambers, there is no Jewish Holocaust. The gas chambers are therefore not a footnote.*

One final irony is that Claude Malhuret, the Secretary of State charged with the defense of the Rights of Man, said, in response to Le Pen, that "the gas chambers are one of the keys to the history of the 20th century" (*Libération*, 15 September 1987, page 6). Every Revisionist will agree with that statement, adding only that it is the key . . . to a lie. The gas chambers are an essential myth, an essential lie. The gas chambers are less than a footnote, since they did not even exist, but the *myth* of the gas chambers is indeed "one of the keys to the history of the 20th century."

Five days after his statement, Le Pen more or less retracted it. In a clarification intended for the press, he mentioned "the gas chambers" as one weapon, among others, in which he said he believed. But the press, in its excitement to crush him, did not want to hear his explanations.

On the whole, for Revisionists the result of the Le Pen affair was positive. Thanks to this politician, all the French people heard about those who doubted the existence of the gas chambers and people now know more or less clearly that these skeptics are called "Revisionists." Today, when someone who does not know me tries, during a conversation about the Second World War, to categorize me, I can simply say: "I am a Revisionist." Before the Le Pen affair, that term would have been understood only by a tiny number of Frenchmen.

The Exterminationists can no longer advance the argument that they have recently tended to use more and more to extract themselves from embarrassment. They can no longer say: "The gas chambers are a footnote." The gas chambers will become the Exterminationists' shirt of Nessus; they will have to defend, to the bitter end, an indefensible thesis (the existence of the gas chambers), the fraudulent cornerstone of an edifice built with lies.

### The Revisionists Banned by the French Media

The bottom line on my French television broadcasts is simple: in nine years, French viewers saw and heard me once, for 30 to 40 seconds, one night in June of 1987 at 10:15 p.m. on France's third television network. The newsreader, Jacqueline Alexandre, was careful to advise the viewers that I

was a sort of monster and, after my appearance, she confirmed for them that they had just seen and heard a kind of monster. The radio and the newspapers, of course, are closed to us. Rarely has such a small group of men had so much said about them, virtually all of it negative, with no chance to defend themselves.

For the past nine years, I have not been able to hold a single really public conference in France. Even some of my "invitation only" conferences have been prevented by the intervention of the police (for example, in Périgueux at the behest of Yves Guena and in Bordeaux at the behest of Jacques Chaban-Delmas, both deputies of the "Gaullist" right). In France, the Revisionists play a sort of devil role: people hear very much said about them, always bad, but people never see them. I have stopped counting the physical attacks on Pierre Guillaume, other Revisionists and myself. I believe I could qualify for listing in the *Guinness Book of World Records*, under the heading of "the professor most often insulted in the Western press."

## Three *Shoah*-Business Events

Three spectacular events have sometimes been described in the French press as a reply to the rise of Revisionism: the movie *Shoah*, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Elie Wiesel, and the Demjanjuk trial in Jerusalem.

### *Shoah*

I will not return to the case of *Shoah*, which I treated in the *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988, pp. 82-92. In France the film had such a setback compared to the publicity from which it had benefited in all imaginable ways that one could, in my opinion, talk here about a "*shoah*-business flop." I will mention just the interview that appeared in *VSD* (9 July 1987, page 11), in which Claude Lanzmann revealed, with some relish, the subterfuges he had used in questioning the German "witnesses" who are seen in his film. He invented a name: Claude-Marie Sorel; a title: Doctor of History; and an institute: the Center for Research and Studies in Contemporary History; some stationery with a phony letterhead reading "Académie de Paris" (he must have known that his friend, Madame Ahrweiler, rector of the Académie de Paris, would not bring suit over this); and, finally, he paid his witnesses handsomely: DM 3,000 apiece, or around $1,500. In December 1987 Claude Lanzmann is to participate in the international conference at

the Sorbonne organized by Madame Ahrweiler and directed against the French Revisionists.

### Elie Wiesel Receives the Nobel Peace Prize (Oslo)

In December, 1986 Elie Wiesel received the Nobel Peace Prize. On page one of the 17 October 1986 issue of *Le Monde*, under the headline "An Eloquent Nobel," it was emphasized that such a reward came just in time since:

> During the last few years there has been, in the name of so-called "historical Revisionism," the development of theses, especially in France, questioning the existtence of the Nazi gas chambers and, perhaps beyond that, of the genocide of the Jews itself.

In my September 1983 IHR conference paper I said:

> Elie Wiesel, if I may be allowed to use a familiar expression, is suffering from a terrible thorn in his foot: the thorn of Revisionism. He has tried by every means to rid himself of it. He has not succeeded. He seems less and less hopeful of ridding himself of it. In that respect, he is like the Revisionists, who do not see any more than Wiesel does how he will get rid of the thorn of Revisionism (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1985, page 178).

In December of 1986, I published a text entitled: "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel." In it I recalled that, in his autobiography (*Night*), this great Auschwitz witness did not even mention the existence of "gas chambers" at Auschwitz. For him, the Germans did exterminate the Jews, but . . . by fire, by throwing them alive into open air furnaces right in front of all the deportees. I could have added that in January 1945, after being offered by the Germans the opportunity either to remain in the camp to await the arrival of the Soviets, or to leave the camp with his guards, Elie Wiesel chose to leave with the German "exterminators" instead of welcoming the Soviet "liberators." His father and he both made the same decision, although both could have remained at one of the camp hospitals, the young Elie as a pampered convalescent in a small surgical ward, and his father in the guise of either a patient or a male nurse (*Night*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1960, pp. 82-87). In December 1986 Pierre Guillaume, Serge Thion and I went to Oslo (Norway) for the Nobel Prize ceremonies. The text "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel" was distributed on the spot in French, English and Swedish, including to some political people of influence, including Mme. Mitterrand, and including Wiesel himself.[9]

### The Demjanjuk Trial

The Demjanjuk trial illustrates, one more time, the generalization as to how the lawyers for "Nazis" or for their "accomplices" play into the hands of the prosecution. In this case, Demjanjuk's lawyers refused to question the dogma of the extermination, and acted as if they really believed that Treblinka had been an extermination camp. In reality, it was a very modest transit camp, which was not the slightest bit secret. It was located 90 kilometers from Warsaw, near a small railway serving a gravel pit. One simple topographical study would demolish in a few minutes the myth of formidable secret gassings and of equally formidable open air incinerations of between 700,000 to 1,500,000 Jews. But the "paper historians," as well as the judges and lawyers in Jerusalem, would not dare to begin at the beginning, that is, with a study of the location of the historic "crime." "Treblinka" is now the apex of the great historical lie, more so than even "Auschwitz."

## III. GAINS BY HISTORICAL REVISIONISM

In January 1987 a well-known Jewish weekly wrote:

> For Henri Roques, Mariette Paschoud, Pierre Guillaume and Robert Faurisson, 1986 was a very successful year. In France and in Switzerland, their names were on every tongue. (*Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung*, 23 January 1987, page 12).

In fact, the entire period that I deal with here (September 1983 to September 1987) was good for European Revisonism. In a more general way, in Canada and in Europe, one can say that during those four years the advances of Revisionism were important while the retreat of the Exterminationists became more serious.

### Advances of Revisionism

On 4 July 1984 a fire arsonists set swept through our Institute for Historical Review, located in Torrance, California. IHR's office and stocks were virtually completely destroyed. Willis Carto, Tom Marcellus and their team succeeded, at the cost of considerable effort, in bringing our institute back to life—necessarily a somewhat slower life. In spite of that criminal fire and in spite of the harmful effects of the Mel Mermelstein lawsuit, the *Journal of Historical Review*

has by now published its 28th issue. In France, Pierre Guillaume has just created a quarterly review, the *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste.* Its first issue, seized by the courts, caused a sensation; the major newspapers and even television mentioned its content and, especially, Carlo Mattogno's essay entitled "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews." In 1986 Pierre Guillaume likewise published his own book, *Droit et histoire,* as well as the French translation/adaptation of Wilhelm Stäglich's *The Auschwitz Myth,* with a 25-page supplement in which I personally commented on photos and documents relating to that myth.

France is the first country in the world where a Revisionist academic thesis could be defended (in June 1985): Henri Roques's thesis on the Gerstein confessions. In the same year there appeared in Italy Mattogno's *Il rapporto Gerstein, anatomia di un falso* (The Gerstein Report: Anatomy of a Fraud), a work broader and more complete than Roques's thesis (which tried to do nothing more than study the *texts* attributed to Gerstein). Mattogno is a learned man in the mold of his ancestors of the Renaissance. He is meticulous and prolific; in the future he will be in the first rank of Revisionists. It is possible that, in the years to come, the Spaniard Enrique Aynat Eknes will reach the same level for his work on Auschwitz. In two years, the Frenchman Pierre Marais will doubtless publish the result of his research on the myth of the homicidal gas vans. In the United States, our Institute has published the works of Walter Sanning (*The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*) and also of James J. Martin, the dean of Revisionist historians (author of *The Man Who Invented Genocide*). The English translation of the Stäglich book is being prepared.[10]

## Tribute from Michel de Boüard

Michel de Boüard was interned at Mauthausen. A professor of medieval history and also a member of the Committee for the History of the Second World War (Paris), he ended his university career as dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Caen (Normandy). He is a member of the Institute de France. In 1986, he defended Henri Roques and, more generally, criticized Exterminationist literature and expressed his respect for the quality of Revisionist work. A journalist from *Ouest France* asked him:

> You were president of the Calvados (Normady) Association of Deportees, and you resigned in May, 1985. Why?

De Boüard answered:

> I found myself torn between my conscience as a historian and the duties it implies, and, on the other hand, my membership in a group of comrades whom I deeply love, but who refuse to recognize the necessity of dealing with the Deportation as a historical fact in accordance with sound historical methods. I am haunted by the thought that in 100 years or even 50 years the historians will question themselves on this particular aspect of the Second World War which is the concentration camp system and what they will find out. *The record is rotten to the core.* On one hand a considerable amount of fantasies, inaccuracies, obstinately repeated (in particular concerning numbers), heterogeneous mixtures, generalizations and, on the other hand, *very dry critical studies that demonstrate the inanity of those exaggerations.* I am afraid that those future historians might then say that the Deportation, when all is said and done, must have been a myth. There lies the danger. That haunts me. [Emphasis added][11]

The Revisionists, whom people are at pains to denounce as negative, in fact perform a positive function: *they show what really took place.* They also give a lesson in "positivism" in the sense that their arguments are often of a physical, chemical, topographical, architectural and documentary nature, and because they accept as true only that which is verifiable. They defend history, while their adversaries have abandoned history for what the Jews call "memory"—i.e., their mythological tradition.

## IV. THE RETREAT OF EXTERMINATIONISM

In the years 1983-1987, the Exterminationist thesis benefited from a financial, political and media mobilization which was as impressive as it was fruitless.

### A Moral Disaster for Hilberg, Vrba, Wiesel and Lanzmann

For Raul Hilberg, Rudolf Vrba, Elie Wiesel and Claude Lanzmann, these four years have been rich in money, publicity and various honors but disastrous for their moral credit.

> —Raul Hilberg, the best "expert" on the Exterminationist thesis, was scuttled at the Toronto trial and was guilty of such *perjury* that in my opinion he would run a risk in coming back to testify again in a trial of that kind;[12]

—Rudolf Vrba, witness number one for the Exterminationist thesis, showed himself to be a kind of impostor: he himself had had to agree at the Toronto trial that his written "testimony" was, in large part, if not perhaps in its entirety, a work of fiction;

—Elie Wiesel, the most famous of the travelling salesmen of *Shoah*-business, is discredited amongst his own people. A few months after the first publication and significant distribution of my text entitled "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel," Pierre Vidal-Naquet himself was moved to declare:

> For example, you have Rabbi Kahane, that extremist Jew, who is less dangerous than a man like Elie Wiesel, who will say JUST ABOUT ANYTHING . . . Reading some of the descriptions in *Night* is enough to make you to realize that they are not accurate and that he ends up turning himself into a *Shoah* merchant . . . And in fact he also harms, greatly harms, historical truth. (*Zéro*, April 1987, page 57);

—Claude Lanzmann was awaited like the Messiah. For ten years he promised to respond definitively to Revisionist arguments with his film *Shoah*; but, in France, the film had the opposite effect; it made obvious the absence of rational arguments for Exterminationism—so obvious that, in a panic, Lanzmann, working through the French Federation of Journalist Societies, called for legal repression of the Revisionists.

"Functionalism" is a major concession to Revisionism, and the "intentionalists" have virtually disappeared.

### Bankruptcy Statement in Ten Points

The bankruptcy statement of Exterminationism can be drawn up in the following terms: the Exterminationists have been forced to recognize no one can find any document (either German or Allied) to support their theses. There are:

1. NO *order* to exterminate the Jews;
2. NO *plan* for carrying out that extermination;
3. NO *central organization* to coordinate the execution of such a plan;
4. NO *budget*; but nothing can be done without money or credits;

5. NO *organ of control*; but, in a country at war, everything must be controlled;
6. NO *weapon*, for there is no expert study of the weapon of the crime: either of a homicidal gas chamber or of a homicidal gas van;
7. NO *body*, for no one has any autopsy report proving that a single person was killed by poison gas;
8. NO *transcript of the reenactment* of the crime, although in France an inquest into a murder is normally accompanied by the reenactment at the scene of the crime;
9. NO *witness capable of withstanding cross-examination on the very material aspects of the crime* because during the Toronto trial, where for the first time someone dared to carry out that kind of cross-examination, the best "witnesses" were confounded;
10. NO *verified confession*, for the Gerstein confessions and the confessions of Rudolf Höss, when finally analyzed, are shown to be devoid of value and impossible to defend (even by Raul Hilberg).

I am afraid that the brevity and speed with which I have enumerated these points may conceal the importance of each of those ten elements. I will therefore pause for a moment on the first of them: the absence (today admitted by everyone) of an order to exterminate the Jews.

From 1945 to 1980, people vilified anyone who dared to express the idea that there had never been such an order. Either the order existed and its existence had to be demonstrated, or else it did not exist and it was necessary to admit that: that is what common sense said but that is also what no one among the spectators to the controversy (journalists, historians, professors) dared to say. For 35 years the Exterminationists carried on a deception. They blocked historical research and they paralyzed any common-sense reaction. The lesson is worth pondering. The Waldheim affair, to take only one example, only repeats this lesson: if Lieutenant Waldheim is guilty of a "war crime" or of a "crime against humanity," then Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, must tell us in detail what his crime was, and must then present proof of it. Anything else is just media hysteria, intellectual terrorism, or the production of false documents.

## The Revision of "Wannsee"

For more than 35 years, the Exterminationists led us to believe that the transcript of the Wannsee Conference (20 January 1942) anticipated the extermination of the Jews. Then, without a word, they abandoned this pretense. The Wannsee document in itself is suspect. Many Revisionists refuse, consequently, to grant it the slightest value. That was the case with me, but it is no longer. I believe above all that this document was poorly read, even by me. We have all been victims of such psychological conditioning that we were unable to see in the two crucial paragraphs words like "Freilassung" (release) and "Aufbaues" (revival) as well as the sentence in parentheses: "Siehe die Erfahrung der Geschichte" (See the experience of history).[13] In light of these words, which people sometimes leave out when they supposedly reproduce the transcript, I say that what Heydrich envisioned at the Berlin-Wannsee meeting was a *release* ("Freilassung") of the Jews who survived the war and a *Jewish revival* ("jüdischen Aufbaues") after the terrible time of testing through wartime forced labor.

History is full of such physical and moral trials out of which a people is said to emerge "regenerated." The National Socialists, in this respect close to the Zionists, thought that after the war "the best" among the Jews would constitute an elite: the germ cell of a Jewish renewal in which physical labor, agricultural colonies, and the feeling of a common destiny would open the way to the creation of a Jewish national homeland; the Jews would finally constitute a nation among other nations, in place of being "parasites." I recall that in March 1942, and perhaps later, there was at least one kibbutz at Neuendorf, in National Socialist Germany (*Documents on the Holocaust*, Yad Vashem, 1981, page 155).

## Hilberg and Browning Reduced to "Nothing"

The retreat of the Exterminationists over a period of 35 years can be measured in the successive explanations they have given for the order supposedly given by Hitler to exterminate the Jews. At first they gave to believe that there was a *written* order, then the order was described as *spoken* order; today they ask us to believe that the order supposedly consisted of a simple "*nod*" (*sic*) by Hitler who, by virtue of a kind of mind-reading, supposedly had been instantly understood by a whole bureaucracy. The "nod" theory comes

from Christopher Browning[14]; the telepathic consensus theory comes from Raul Hilberg. We are thus nearing the domain of nothingness. Hilberg, who was himself once a member of the written-order faction (even two written orders), realized early on that he could not furnish any proof of the existence of the order (or orders). At a later date, in about 1984, he realized that the theory of the spoken order was also insupportable; at the Stuttgart Conference (3-5 May 1984), he in effect adopted a Revisionist argument as his own, saying as regards the alleged spoken order received by Eichmann or Höss:

> Eichmann und Höss haben nicht selbst mit dem Führer gesprochen. So hören wir nur von einem Mann wie Eichmann, der von Heydrich gehört hatte, der von Himmler gehört hatte, was Hitler gesagt hatte. Für Geschichtsschreiber ist das allerdings nicht die beste Quelle. (*Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg* [The Murder of the Jews in the Second World War], DVA, 1985, page 187).
>
> (Eichmann and Höss did not themselves speak with the Führer. So we learn only from a man—Eichmann—who heard what Hitler had said from Heydrich, who had heard it from Himmler. For the historian, this is certainly not the best source.)

## Klarsfeld's Trickery and an Admission

Serge Klarsfeld, the husband of "Nazi-hunter" Beate, has involuntarily contributed to the retreat of Exterminationism. In order to support the thesis of the alleged homicidal gassings at Auschwitz-Birkenau, he was forced to employ a clumsy trick.

In 1980, Klarsfeld published an album of nearly 190 photos which had been taken by a German photographer at Auschwitz in 1944. Some of these photos were already known. The whole album should have been published in 1945; it is so full of information that I personally know of nothing more enlightening about the reality of Auschwitz than these astonishing photographs. Klarsfeld entitled the first, relatively honest, publication of the photos *The Auschwitz Album/Lili Jacob's Album* (New York, The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, preface dated 5 August 1980). This edition was not offered commercially but seems to have been reserved for major libraries around the world, as well as for major Jewish organizations.

In the following year, he published the same photographs under the following title: *The Auschwitz Album/A Book Based*

*Upon an Album Discovered by a Concentration Camp Survivor, Lili Meier,* text by Peter Hellman (New York, Random House, 1981). This time the presentation of the book and the commentary on the photos was dishonest.

It was in the French edition that Klarsfeld lapsed into trickery pure and simple. It must be said that he was helped by a strange character: a pharmacist named Jean-Claude Pressac, whose collaboration even George Wellers had ended up rejecting. The title of the French edition was: *L'Album d'Auschwitz, d'après un album découvert par Lili Meier, survivante du camp de concentration,* text by Peter Hellman, translated from English by Guy Casaril, French edition established and completed by Anne Freyer and Jean-Claude Pressac (Editions du Seuil, 1983). The order of the photos was completely rearranged so as to illustrate the Exterminationist thesis. Titles for the various sections of the original album were transformed; new captions were even forged so as to make people believe that they were original; the commentaries turned out to be purely arbitrary. A plan of Birkenau was added (page 42), but it was a plan that had been *deliberately falsified.* For example, in order to convince the reader that the groups of Jewish women and children surprised by the photographer between Crematories II and III could go no further and were therefore going to end up in the "gas chambers" in those crematories, Klarsfeld and Pressac had quite neatly removed a road through there which, in reality, led to a large shower facility (located beyond the zone of the crematories, to which the women and children were proceeding). Another deception consisted of leaving out any mention of the existence of a soccer field ("Sportplatz") next to Crematory III: the recreational spirit of such a playing field did not mix well with its proximity to a building in which thousands of Jews were supposedly gassed every day.

On 29 May 1986, in an interview in the weekly magazine *VSD* (page 37), Klarsfeld admitted that he had not yet published the "real proofs" of the existence of the gas chambers but only "beginnings of some proofs which embarrassed the Faurissonians but have not yet silenced them." So we have the admission of this revenge seeker that the entire world had been made to believe in those gas chambers without any proof having been published as late as May of 1986—more than forty years after the end of the war. For Klarsfeld to say that was to admit implicitly that Georges Wellers had not published the "real proofs" in his 1981 book

*Les Chambres à gaz ont existé/ Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres* (The Gas Chambers Existed/Documents, Testimony, Numbers) (Gallimard). In fact, what Wellers's book demonstrated was the existence of crematories. Klarsfeld's statement also meant that another book had been a failure: *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat* (The Gas Chambers, State Secret) (written by 24 authors, including Wellers, Editions de Minuit, 1984; original German edition, published by Fischer Verlag in 1983, entitled *NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas* [NS Mass Murders by Poison Gas]. In effect, that work was based on the following theory: since the gas chambers were the greatest of all possible secrets, a State Secret, people ought not to expect to discover proof in the usual sense of the word. The cover of the book showed . . . a container of Zyklon. As I heard Professor Michel de Boüard himself say, "in this book they snipe at us with references and there is nearly no source." Personally, I would add that these references have no scholarly value; they refer back, for the most part, to statements about Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibor, etc., made by German prosecutors or judges. But what is concealed from us is that all those statements have one common source: an office located at Ludwigsburg and run at the time by Adalbert Rückerl (Landesjustizverwaltung zur Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen). In other words, Herr Rückerl, one of the main authors of the book, is constantly citing himself to prove that he is right!

In 1987 journalist Michel Folco visited me. I showed him the interview with Serge Klarsfeld. I pointed out that I have sent *VSD* a text in hopes of being granted the "right to reply," a right that was finally refused to me. Folco later went on to visit, on the one hand, Georges Wellers and, on the other hand, Serge Klarsfeld. Wellers was aware of the *VSD* interview with Klarsfeld and found it annoying and deplorable. There followed a hullabaloo at the end of which Klarsfeld, on 23 March 1987 (ten months after the interview); drew up a denial, but a denial which amounted to a confirmation. Instead of appearing in *VSD*, Klarsfeld's denial appeared in George Wellers's magazine, *Le Monde juif* (January-March 1987, page 1). Klarsfeld wrote:

> It is evident that in the years since 1945 the technical aspects of the gas chambers have been a neglected subject, since no one imagined that some day we would have to prove their existence.

This admission is significant. According to Klarsfeld himself, the Exterminationists had "neglected" the "technical aspects" of the weapon of the crime. No court, beginning with Nuremberg, had troubled to follow the procedure normally used in every such criminal trial. The gas chamber is the central pillar of the whole structure of crimes attributed to the Germans; but people had "neglected" to study it in its "technical aspects."

### Results of Admission by Jean Daniel

In France, Jean Daniel's *Le Nouvel Observateur* was the mass circulation weekly most eager to combat the Revisionists. On more than one occasion, it published photos that supposedly showed "gas chambers." But, having lost the battle, the magazine admitted on 26 April 1983 (page 33):

There is no photograph of a gas chamber.

Which means that what people today still persist in describing to tourists as gas chambers at Struthof, Mauthausen, Hartheim, Dachau, Majdanek, and Auschwitz are only intended to lure visitors. From September 1983 to September 1987, the French press in effect gave up showing photos of gas chambers, a fact which represents some improvement over the American press, which continues to publish such photos.

### Fear of Revealing the Documents

In 1986 Gerald L. Posner, a Jewish lawyer from the United States, published a book entitled *Mengele: The Complete Story* (in collaboration with John Ware, New York, McGraw-Hill). The title is misleading because the author obviously conceals what Mengele happened to write, after the war, about Auschwitz. On page 48, it is said that, according to his son Rolf, Mengele appeared to be "quite unrepentant and felt no shame" about the years he spent at Auschwitz. As far as I am concerned, I am inclined to believe that Mengele felt neither repentance nor shame since he had nothing to repent or feel shame about. I am convinced that his personal papers fully confirm the Revisionist position and that, for that reason, the Exterminationists, who were able to get hold of his papers with the help of Mengele's son Rolf, refuse to divulge their contents ("In Rolf's apartment were two bags filled with more than thirty pounds of Mengele's personal writings," page 302). I am thinking in particular about one piece entitled "Fiat Lux" (mentioned on page 316); the title leads me to think that in it Mengele shed some light on what really happened at

Auschwitz. I am not alone in thinking that Posner, Rolf Mengele and the whole group of supposed experts or researchers are hiding some documents from us. We read in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (Vol. 2, No. 1, 1987, page 9):

> Had [Mengele], who did not repent a thing, really not written anything about these decisive years? And, if he has written about these years, who has destroyed or hidden these notes?

I believe that the treatment given to Dr. Mengele's writings constitutes an implicit proof that the Revisionists are right when they assert that essential documents are being withheld from examination by historians. The truth about Auschwitz can be found in Moscow, Arolsen (West Germany), and New York City: in New York (or somewhere in Germany) with the Mengele manuscripts; in Arolsen, at the International Tracing Service, closed to Revisionists since 1978, a place rich in invaluable documents on the individual fates of every individual interned at Auschwitz; and in Moscow, where up until now they have kept from public view the almost complete set of death registers (*Totenbücher*) drawn up by the Germans at Auschwitz from 1940 to 1945 (the other two or three registers are located at the Auschwitz Museum and perhaps also in photocopy form at Arolsen, but there again consultation of them is prohibited).

My question is: Why have the Holocaust historians approved of this systematic concealment of documents, which has gone on now for decades? What are they waiting for before they will publish the documents?

### Wartime Jewish Pressure to Credit the Rumors

In 1985, David S. Wyman published *The Abandonment of the Jews/America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*, Pantheon books (copyright 1984). This book is in the tradition of similar works in which Arthur Morse, Walter Laqueur and Martin Gilbert have explored what the Allies could have known about Auschwitz or other "extermination camps" during the war. Its author displays a credulity and even a simple-mindedness that Europeans tend to call "American." The preface was written by "false witness" Elie Wiesel and the testimony with which the book opens comes from Hermann Gräbe, a well-known perjurer (see *Der Spiegel*, 29 December 1965, pp. 26-28). According to Wyman, the Allies ought to have believed what they heard about Auschwitz or about Treblinka, but they did not. Even in Moscow, in May 1945, the American newspaper

correspondents were apparently inattentive or skeptical. He writes:

> Also, apparently, the American correspondents were unaware of or disbelieved earlier reports on Auschwitz [earlier than the famous one of May 6, 1945], including the much publicized one released by the WRB [War Refugee Board] the preceding November (page 326 n. 1).[15]

The Allies were right not to believe either the WRB Report of November 1944, based principally on Rudolf Vrba, or the official Soviet report about Auschwitz dated 6 May 1945, also known as Nuremberg document USSR-008: two of the four signers were the biologist Lysenko and the metropolitan Nikolaus or Nikolai; the first was later shown, after the war, to be a fraud, while the second dared to sign the false expert report of 24 January 1944, attributing the Katyn massacre to the Germans (document USSR-054). Page after page, David Wyman involuntarily helps show that the Revisionists are right on two essential points:

1. The alleged "news" about the extermination of the Jews consisted of nothing more than confused, vague, contradictory, absurd rumors;
2. Jewish organizations, especially the World Jewish Congress, presided over by Rabbi Stephen Wise, constantly exerted pressure on governmental bodies and the media to present these rumors as news.

The word "pressure" comes up again and again in this book. The alleged indifference or inactivity of American Jewish organizations during "the Holocaust" is a myth. The reality is that, in spite of their incessant pressure, these organizations encountered great scepticism, which is quite normal when one considers the lack of substance of the alleged "news" about "the extermination of the Jews." In any event, the book reveals, in spite of the author's intention, how the myth of the Holocaust and the gas chambers began and developed during the war. Wyman could have saved himself a lot of work if he had read the marvelous text by Arthur Butz, entitled "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," presented at the 1982 Revisionist conference and printed at the end of recent editions of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (pp. 335-369).

## Concessions by Pierre Vidal-Naquet

Pierre Vidal-Naquet has just republished his anti-Revisionist writings. His book in entitled *Les Assassins de la Mémoire*

(Editions de la Découverte, 1987). The author makes a certain number of concessions to the Revisionists, the first one in criticizing them (in his words) not for killing history but for killing "memory." He says they are right on all sorts of subjects:

> —the more than suspect character of the testimony attributed to SS man Pery Broad (page 45);
>
> —the value of the "material gathered at Nuremberg" (page 47);
>
> —the fact that Simone Veil (under her maiden name of Simone Jacob) had been counted as having been gassed (page 65) (it should be noted in passing that the same thing happened to the Communist official of the largest French workers organization, Henri Krasucki, and to his mother, as well as to thousands of other less famous French Jews);
>
> —that the Jewish people have become sacrosanct thanks to Auschwitz, and the profit that Israel and some Jewish groups derive from this (page 125, 130, 162, 214 [notes 90 and 93], 223 [note 90]);
>
> —the testimony of SS man Gerstein which is "full of contradictions and things that are hard to believe" (page 154);
>
> —the number of dead at Auschwitz: 4 million according to the Poles and the Soviets, "around three and a half million" for Lanzmann, but a million for Vidal-Naquet (personally, I believe that about 60,000 died but no inquest has yet been conducted and the death registers of Auschwitz are still kept hidden by the Allies);
>
> —the "imaginary gas chambers" (page 219, n. 44).

The most interesting concession is one that relates to Auschwitz I: Vidal-Naquet no longer believes in the authenticity of the gas chamber in that camp. But the "gas chamber" of Auschwitz I is still visited by millions of tourists to whom it is described as authentic (pp. 131-132, n. 94 and page 214). I will mention here that the first person, among historians of Jewish origin, to say there was no gas chamber at Auschwitz I was Olga Wormser-Migot, in 1968 (*Le Système concentrationnaire nazi (1933-1945)*, Presses Universitaires de France). She wrote at that time "Auschwitz I [. . .] without a gas chamber" (page 157).

Vidal-Naquet has been active as a persecutor of the Revisionists. He went so far as to testify in court against men

in the Poliakov affair (see "Revisionism on Trial; Developments in France, 1979-1983," *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 6, no. 2 [Summer 1985], pp. 155-160). In his opinion, "We must talk *about* the Revisionists . . . we do not talk *with* the Revisionists" (*Les Assassins de la Mémoire*, page 10). To draw an analogy from sports, Vidal-Naquet thinks he is better than Faurisson at tennis; not only that, he claims Faurisson cheats at tennis. Should the latter suggest a match, before a referee and in public, Vidal-Naquet would respond that he would certainly like to play but only on the condition that there be no opponent. He would ask the judge to declare him the winner in advance; the public's job would simply be to confirm that decision.

Vidal-Naquet is in favor of repression against those whom he calls "the assassins," "the little abject band," "the shits." But, after witnessing repression in its legal form, Vidal-Naquet regards it as dangerous; indeed, French judges do condemn the Revisionists, as they are asked to do, but not as severely as Vidal-Naquet and his friends had hoped. He writes:

> Legal repression is a dangerous weapon which can backfire on those who use it. The trial brought in 1979 against Faurisson by various anti-racist associations ended in a decree of the Court of Appeal of Paris dated 26 April 1983 which recognized the seriousness of Faurisson's work (that beats all!), and in the end convicted him only for having acted with malevolence in summing up his theses in slogans. (page 182)

Here the retreat of the Exterminationists is illustrated by the fact that they are finally forced to admit, four years after the fact, that the Court in Paris recognized the seriousness of my work and in the end punished me (severely!) simply for having, in its opinion, acted malevolently in summing up my thesis in slogans. It must not be forgotten that for four years, from 1983 to 1987, the Exterminationists succeeded in concealing the content of the decree of 26 April 1983, or else distorting it to the point of saying that I had been convicted of falsifying history.

## Other Concessions

In France, certain Jewish authors no longer believe in the gas chambers, or else advise people not to dwell too much on examining the existence of that formidable weapon.

Such is the case with Joseph Gabel, who wrote that it is "with a real skill that Faurisson has been able to exploit the faults of his adversaries" and has been able "to make the debate

swerve toward the least solid positions of the 'Exterminationists': the exact number of the victims and the technical problems posed by the function of the gas chambers." He adds:

> It was useless and dangerous to enter into such a debate [on the technical problems posed by the functioning of the gas chambers]. It is enough to say that mass gassing poses technical problems [. . .] that it is not the job of the victims to solve these problems [. . .] This discussion of the technical aspects of genocide, in the presence of a public with more prejudices than knowledge, has been unwise. The Messrs. Vidal-Naquet, Wellers, and their colleagues have given battle on the field chosen by their opponent. (*Réflexions sur l'avenir des Juifs*, Klincksieck, 1987, pp. 135-136)

The periodical *Article 31* even published a letter from Ida Zajdel and Marc Ascione (January-February 1987, page 22) which developed the thesis that the gas chambers never existed; they were dreamed up in the imaginations of certain SS men, who at that time slipped into some of their "confessions" a "time bomb" against the Jews.

A university-level journal of the caliber of the recently established *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* shows that even the officials of Yad Vashem are now aware that it is no longer possible for historians to write the history of the Holocaust with the scorn for truth that up to now has been common. I advise Revisionists to carefully read this journal, edited by Yehuda Bauer and Harry James Cargas. For several years now I have paid close attention to the published writings of Yehuda Bauer. I have noted in Bauer a "Revisionist" tendency to probe the National-Socialist policy regarding the Jews, as well to take into account certain indications which suggest that throughout the entire war National Socialist Germany tried to maintain contacts with the Jews at the international level in order to facilitate the emigration, and not an extermination, of the European Jews (the "Europa Plan," the moderating role of Himmler, the Joel Brand affair, negotiations with the Czech, Swedish, Swiss and Hungarian Jews). Even on the question of the "Einsatzgruppen," we notice that every claim of the Exterminationists is to be looked at again, especially the number of executions (*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 2, no. 2, 1987, especially pp. 234-235).

## V. CONCLUSION

Only persons who have just become Revisionists can imagine that Revisionism will defeat Exterminationism "just as surely as night follows day." In reality, the lies of Exterminationism will continue to be accepted by the general public for decades to come. In order to transcend the myths of one war, it seems necessary to have another war. Without World War II, perhaps, the stories about Belgian children with their hands cut off by the "Huns" in World War I would still be believed today by the general public.

As Arthur R. Butz has shown (*Journal of Historical Review*, April 1980, page 9), the legend of the Holocaust stands on feet of clay. This colossus will still be able to dominate our horizon for a long time. The more Revisionists whisper that its feet are made of clay, the more the votaries of the Holocaust religion will bang their drums to drown us out. On the university level, they will hold more and more "colloquiums" and "dialogues," which in fact will be just nothing more than "soliliquies" and "monologues." There have already been announcements of another "Sorbonne Conference" (10-13 December 1987) (not to be confused with the first "Sorbonne Conference," held 29 June-2 July 1982) and more importantly the "Oxford Conference" (10-14 July 1988) [both these conferences have taken place in the meantime —ed.]. The latter will take place under the aegis of a Mrs. Maxwell or, more exactly, of her husband Robert Maxwell, the British press magnate, a billionaire of Jewish origin. Their conference is intended to focus shame on Christians for their alleged indifference to the alleged Holocaust of the Jews.

I doubt that the Exterminationist lobby will attain any success on the university level, other than the intimidation of historians. It is going to become more and more clear that this lobby adds nothing to the science of history: no new documents, no new ideas. Indeed, the only possible evolutionary direction open to historians, whatever their preconceptions, is toward Revisionism. Thus we have witnessed the rise of "functionalism" in opposition to "intentionalism," and so it is that there has developed in Germany with Hillgruber, Nolte, Fest, et al. a new appreciation (and relativisation) of the so-called Holocaust that I, for one, immediately referred to, in German, as *Ersatzrevisionismus* ("ersatz Revisionism").

On the borderline between this "Ersatzrevisionismus" and real Revisionism, we see crouching, awaiting better days, valuable historians like Helmut Diwald, Alfred Schickel and David Irving [the last dramatically and forthrightly announced his acceptance of Holocaust Revisionism at the 1988 trial of Ernst Zündel –Ed.]. Among the Revisionists, a new generation is arising, at the forefront of which are Mark Weber (USA), Carlo Mattogno (Italy), and Enrique Aynat Eknes (Spain). I know of other names which, for reasons of prudence, I prefer not to give yet.

"Shoah"-business will continue to prosper. The Holocaust Museums are going to multiply and Holocaust propaganda will continue to invade the high schools and universities. The concentration camps will become attractions comparable to Disneyland. It is enough to visit these camps today to realize that they will still be there two or three hundred years from now. Their touristic value is obvious. Poland scarcely attracts any tourists with "hard" currency, except to visit Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, and other camps. Tour operators are beginning to calculate the profit they can derive from these places, at which there is in reality nothing to see but where, as a result, they will fill the void with "symbols." The less there is to see with your eyes, the more they will give you to see in your imagination. From that point of view, Treblinka is an ideal place. Everything there is symbolic: the entrance to the camp, its boundaries, the railway line, the access ramp, the path to the "gas chambers," the "open air funeral pyres," and the sites of the "chambers" and "funeral pyres." At Treblinka, the Polish authorities will create, therefore, a museum all the more gigantic since the camp area proper was in fact exiguous (not even 200 x 50 m). In West Germany, East Germany and Austria, there is probably no longer a single school child, soldier or policeman who has not had to visit one or more concentration camps to understand there the horrors of National Socialism and to convince himself, by comparison, of the virtues of the "democratic" regimes in power. One cannot imagine a government that would ever renounce so easy a form of ideological indoctrination.

There is no reason for Israel and the World Jewish Congress to weaken their demands and their efforts in promoting the Holocaust religion. Such multi-millionaires of Jewish origin as Baron Rothschild in France, Robert Maxwell in Britain, Carlo de Benedetti in Italy, Rupert Murdoch in Australia, Armand Hammer in America and Moscow, and Edgar Bronfman in

the United States and Canada, are probably going to collect more and more money (since it is doubtful that they will spend their own money) to counteract the effects of Revisionist scepticism. The personal fortune of Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress and the "liquor king," is estimated at $3,600,000,000. The Revisionists have altogether about 3 francs and 6 sous. It is therefore wise not to have any illusions about the chances of success for Revisionism with a general public whose press is controlled by these magnates.

People tell me a miracle is always possible. The world political situation could evolve in a direction favorable to Revisionism. Who knows whether the Arabs, and Muslims in general, will endlessly recite the lessons they are taught and not grow tired of the "Holocaust of the Jews"? Who knows whether the Communist world, with abrupt changes in its internal and foreign policies being undertaken at the highest level, will decide that moment has come to "rectify" the official history of Katyn and of Auschwitz and to give free access, for example, to the "Totenbücher" of Auschwitz? Who knows whether the historians of the Third World, or of the former Third World, will someday try to write the history of the Second World War from their own point of view, without worrying overmuch about the taboos of the Western World?

For a long time to come it will be the lot of the Revisionists to work in obscurity and danger. Their adventure is similar to that of the Renaissance, in which certain individuals, in varying degrees throughout Europe, simultaneously and spontaneously took it upon themselves to struggle against obscurantism.[16] Those Renaissance seekers of truth did their work by looking again at the original texts, doing critical analysis, and verifying things in terms of the physical and material world. They preferred doubt to belief. Moving away from faith, they embraced reason. It is in that same spirit that Revisionism finds itself questioning a system of religious and political taboos. In this sense Revisionism is, in the words of lawyer Pierre Pécastaing, "the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century."[17]

## Notes

1. These are some samples of the answers of R. Hilberg when cross-examined by D. Christie on Gerstein:

   I would put Gerstein's statement [PS-1553] as one that one must be most careful about. Parts are corroborated; others are pure nonsense (*Transcripts*, page 904).

   Gerstein, apparently, was a very excitable person. He was capable of all kinds of statements which he, indeed, made not only in the affidavit but its context.

   *Question:* He wasn't totally sane?

   *Answer:* I am not a judge of sanity, but I would be careful about what he said (page 905).

   He was capable, in his excitement, of adding imagination to fact. There is no question of that (page 906).

   *Question:* And we know that [the statement that Hitler was there in Belzec] to be a totally false statement; right?

   *Answer:* Exactly (page 907).

   Well, [in the reproduction of his statements] I eliminated anything that seemed not be be plausible or credible, certainly (page 921).

   [About another statement] Well, parts of it are true, and other parts of it are sheer exaggeration, manifest and obvious exaggeration [. . .] Rhetoric . . . (page 923).

   Gerstein was somewhat given to great excitability (page 924).

   I would not characterize him as totally rational, but that is of no value, because I am not the expert of rationality (page 925).

   *Question:* A very strange mind prone to exaggeration?

   *Answer:* Yes (page 928).

   A far-out statement (page 934).

   In the use of such affidavits, one must be extraordinarily careful (page 935).

   [It should be noted that all these admissions were dragged from R. Hilberg *before* the publication of the works of Carlo Mattogno (Italy) and Henri Roques (France) about Gerstein].

2. At Ernst Zündel's house, in those rare moments of relaxation, as a dozen or so of us were sitting around a table the conversation would turn to Hilberg and his theory of the "incredible meeting of minds." We imagined how much better it would be to have a world in which the "incredible meeting of minds" would replace letters, telegrams, and the telephone, and in which, at the dinner table for example, there would be no need to ask someone to pass the salt or the water carafe since, by an "incredible meeting of the minds," the persons who had those things, practicing "consensus-mind-reading," would in every case anticipate your expressed desires and would himself offer the salt shaker or the carafe at just the right moment.

3. Here again, at Zündel's house, witness Vrba buoyed our spirits. We called him "the green duck." For several days lawyer Doug Christie

had fired shots at him, each of which caused the impostor to lose some feathers, but none of which dealt him a mortal blow. It was Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths who delivered the *coup de grâce* to his own witness. In a sense he had asked Christie to loan him his double-barreled shotgun and, with two shots, brought down the bird. We called Vrba a "green" duck because of the color the witness turned when his story collapsed.

4. See *Shoah*, reviewed by Robert Faurisson, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988, pp. 85-92.
5. Translated in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
6. See *The Christian News*, July 1987, page 9; also the *IHR Newsletter*, No. 51, August 1987.
7. After France changed its system for electing deputies to the Assembly from one based on proportional representation to direct election, the National Front's number of seats declined to one.
8. On pages 31-32 of the December 1987 issue of the American magazine *Instauration*, from which I have borrowed this translation, one can find an interesting discussion of the difficulty of translating the phrase "point de détail." *Instaruration* rendered it as "footnote."
9. The pamphlet "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel" is currently available from The Institute for Historical Review.
10. Wilhelm Stäglich's *The Auschwitz Myth* is now available in English from the Institute for Historical Review. Enrique Aynat Eknes's "Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau: A Critical Study" appeared in the Fall 1988 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 8, No. 3). A review of Carlo Mattogno's *Il rapporto Gerstein*, by Dr. Robert A. Hall, appeared in the Spring 1986 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 7, No. 1).
11. A translation of the Michel de Boüard interview appeared in the Fall 1988 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 8, No. 3).
12. In fact Hilberg refused to testify at the second trial of Zündel in Toronto.
13. Here are the two paragraphs as they appear at the bottom of page 7 and the top of page 8 of the transcript. I have underlined the words that people usually leave out or ignore.:

    Unter entsprechender Leitung sollen nun im Zuge der Endlösung die Juden in geeigneter Weise im Osten zum Arbeitseinsatz kommen. In grossen Arbeitskolonnen, unter Trennung der Geschlechter, werden die arbeitsfähigen Juden strassenbauend in diese Gebiete geführt, wobei zweifellos ein Grossteil durch natürliche Verminderung ausfallen wird.

    Der allfällig endlich verbleibende Restbestand wird, da es sich bei diesem zweifellos um den widerstandsfähigsten Teil handelt, entsprechend behandelt werden müssen, da dieser, eine natürliche Auslese darstellend, *bei Freilassung* als Keimzelle *eines neuen jüdischen Aufbaues* anzusprechen ist. (*Siehe die Erfahrung der Geschichte.*).

(Under proper direction the Jews shall now, in the course of the final solution, be taken to the East and put to work in a suitable way. In big labor columns, with separation of the sexes, the Jews capable of work will be conducted to these areas, building roads, whereby undoubtedly a large part will be lost through natural decrease.

The total remnant that finally in any case will remain—since this is undoubtedly the part with the strongest resistance—will have to be treated accordingly, since the latter, representing a natural selection, is to be regarded, *upon release*, as nucleus of *a new Jewish revival. (See the experience of history.)*

14. The "nod" theory makes no sense in itself and is not supported by the slightest documentation. It seems to have made its appearance with Browning in 1984, when he wrote (emphasis mine):

". . . Himmler and Heydrich needed little more than a *nod* from Hitler to perceive that the time had come to extend the killing process to the European Jews." ("A Reply to Martin Broszat Regarding the Origins of the Final Solution," *The Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, 1984, page 124).

In *Fateful Months* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), Browning uses this theory on at least two occasions: first on page 22 and then on page 36, where he writes:

"If a *nod* from Hitler could set Himmler and Heydrich in motion, others eagerly looked for similar signs."

In 1987 Brown declared:

". . . it required not more than a *nod* of the head from Hitler to give the 'green light' indicating that the mass murder should now be extended to the European Jews. This was not so much an explicit order as an act of incitement. Hitler was solliciting a 'feasibility study,' he was commissioning the drawing-up of a genocide plan. How this was communicated, we do not and never will know." ("Historians, Hitler and the Holocaust," a paper given at Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon, in March 1987, p. 24, thanks to Dr. Frankel of the Oregon Holocaust Resources Center).

We might point out to Browning that if we do not know and cannot know how "*this*" was communicated, it is impossible to say that "*this*" existed.

15. I remind readers that Allied officials never mentioned the existence of gas chambers during the war. On the international stage, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill very nearly did so in their famous November 1st, 1943 declaration on the German atrocities; they refrained from mentioning gas chambers—as we are told—at the British Government's suggestion (Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945*, Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, 1979, p. 29).

Several months before, the Americans had planned the publication of a "Declaration of German Crimes in Poland," which they suggested the British and the Soviets publish on the same day as the American declaration. This declaration contained the following paragraph:

> These German measures are being carried out with the utmost brutality. Many of the victims are killed on the spot. The rest are segregated. Men from 14 to 50 are taken away to work for Germany. Some children are killed on the spot, others are separated from their parents and either sent to Germany to be brought up as Germans or sold to German settlers or dispatched with the women and old men to concentration camps, where they are now being systematically put to death in gas chambers.

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, sent the declaration to the British. He informed the US ambassador in Moscow by a telegram of August 27, 1943. Three days later, he warned the ambassador that there had been a mistake and in a telegram of August 30, he explained:

> At the suggestion of the British Government which says there is insufficient evidence to justify the statement regarding execution in gas chambers, it has been agreed to eliminate the last phrase in paragraph 2 of the "Declaration on German Crimes in Poland" beginning "Where" and ending "chambers" thus making the second paragraph end with "concentration camps." Please inform the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the change in text. (*Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1943*, vol. 1, pp. 416-417).

This is the way *The New York Times* published the declaration, under the headline "U.S. and Britain Warn Nazi Killers" (30 August 1943, p. 3.). The Allied officials proved themselves to be prudent in their circumspection. Had they mentioned the alleged gas chambers in an official and worldwide declaration, world history would have been changed: the German authorities could have vigorously exposed this vile and ridiculous war canard which, then, would have plummeted to earth, since the Allies, challenged to prove their allegation, would have been confounded before the entire world. See also Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 356.

16. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi directs the Jewish and Israeli Studies Center at Columbia University in New York. He wrote in 1982:

"The Holocaust has alrady engendered more historical research than any single event in Jewish history, but I have no doubt whatever that its image is being shaped, not at the historian's anvil, but in the novelist's crucible. Much has changed since the sixteenth century; one thing curiously remains. Now, as then, it would appear that even where Jews do not reject history out of hand, they are not prepared to confront it directly, but seem to await a new, meta-historical myth, for which the novel provides at least a temporary modern surrogate." (*Zakhor, Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1982, p. 98).

17. At the time of my Institute for Historical Review paper in 1983, I paid tribute to the courage and the wisdom of one of my lawyers: Eric Delcroix. I want to repeat that tribute here. From 1979 until today, Delcroix had defended Revisionists in court and elsewhere, through his writings and even by his physical presence when there was some danger.

# *Atrocities, Then and Now*

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

"Most shocking barbarities begin to be reported as practiced . . . upon the wounded and prisoners . . . that fall into their hands," read an editorial in the *New York Times*. "We are told of their slashing the throats of some from ear to ear; of their cutting off the heads of others and kicking them about as footballs; and of their setting up the wounded against trees and firing at them as targets or torturing them with plunges of bayonets into their bodies."

The date was July 25, 1861, and the credulous editor, an ardent supporter of the Lincoln Administration, was commenting on the news which war correspondents were sending from the battle of Bull Run. A few weeks later, *Harpers Weekly*, the most popular illustrated paper of the day, carried a full page picture—presumably drawn by the artist on the spot—showing the Southerners bayonetting wounded Union soldiers on the battlefield.

The editorial, the correspondents' stories, and the illustrations might well have been published in the spring of 1945. Within recent weeks, the most popular illustrated weekly has carried elaborate spreads of border atrocities, correspondents have added solemn testimony, the State Department has promised adequate punishment for German war criminals, and Gen. Eisenhower invited a Congressional committee to visit scenes of German atrocities to gather authentic information. History—or as least the history of propaganda—would seem to be repeating itself.

In two important respects the propaganda aspects of the Civil War's atrocity stories resemble the present. One is the demand for vengeful retaliation on prisoners of war, and the other is the use of high-placed officials to verify and

authenticate the stories handed out for popular consumption.

During the Civil War, when stories of suffering in Southern prison camps in Richmond and Andersonville began to spread over the North, Secretary of War Stanton prepared to use the stories to "fire the Northern heart." The Union armies were waging a relentless war upon the South's transportation system, and the Confederates were unable to provide adequate housing, clothing, medicine, and food to the prisoners. Instead of exchanging the prisoners—the obviously humane solution—the Secretary of War preferred to allow Union soldiers to suffer from disease and privation in Southern prisons. Stanton knew that the very presence of the prisoners furnished a drain upon the Confederacy's dwindling resources.

## Cloaking Their Aims

Edward M. Stanton was the Cabinet representative of the "Radical," or "Jacobin," faction of the Republican Party. The Jacobins represented the interests of the North's rising industrialists who wanted a protective tariff, of the railroad promoters who wanted subsidies from the Federal treasury, and of the financiers who were using the new national banking system to get a strangle hold on the country's wealth.

Using the language of humanitarianism and freedom to cloak their predatory aims, the Jacobins wanted the war prolonged until the armies had crushed the South, destroyed its economic system, and enabled Northern exploiters to seize the South's resources. In Congress, the Jacobins controlled the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War, which fomented propaganda and formulated Jacobin policies.

Neither Secretary Stanton nor the Congressional Jacobins were willing to relieve the suffering of Union prisoners of war by modifying military policy or exchanging the prisoners. Instead, the Secretary gave encouragement to popular demands that Confederate prisoners of war, confined in the North, be made to suffer in retaliation. Northern prison officials reduced the rations of prisoners of war, failed to provide heat, and refused to issue clothing to prisoners suffering the unaccustomed severities of a Northern climate. Surgeons of Northern prison camps officially reported that men were dying from exposure, overcrowding, lack of food, and bad sanitary arrangements.

"The Secretary of War is not disposed at this time, in view of the treatment our prisoners of war are receiving at the hands

of the enemy, to erect fine establishments for their prisoners in our hands," replied Stanton to a suggestion that more prisons were needed. Moreover, he ordered that measures be taken to subject captured Confederates to "precisely similar treatment in respect to food, clothing, medical treatment and other necessities" as prevailed in Southern prisons.

Although the Jacobin press enthusiastically endorsed this venomous program, some prisoners of war, returning from the South, denied that Confederates were deliberately torturing prisoners. Such reports might well have caused a reaction against the policy of retaliation, and have given excuse for renewed demands for exchanges. To forestall such developments, Stanton sought "official confirmation of his policy. He asked the Committee on the Conduct of the War to visit a hospital at Annapolis and report on the condition of some sick and wounded ex-prisoners.

The enormity of the crime committed by the rebels toward our "prisoners," Stanton told the Jacobin committee, "is not known or realized by our people, and cannot but fill with horror the civilized world with the deliberate system of savage and barbarous treatment."

Thus instructed, the Congressional committee visited Annapolis. They emerged with a report which was a masterpiece of propaganda. In 30 pages of official print, they set forth a catalog of Confederate brutality. They told how the Southerners robbed their captives, how they beat them, starved them, and murdered them with fiendish glee. And, as evidence that could not be denied, the committee presented the pictures of 8 alleged victims of Confederate savagery. The 8 pictured men have hollow, unshaven cheeks, glassy eyes, protruding bones, and expressions of utter despondency.

The Government promptly circulated thousands of copies of this official report. No one noticed that two of the pictured men had been dead when the committee visited Annapolis, and no one knew, of course, that the worst case was a soldier who had never been a prisoner at all! Nor did the Committee bother to mention that the Confederates had sent these prisoners home, at their own request, because there were no proper hospital facilities for their care in Richmond. Such an admission would have weakened the Jacobin argument that the rebels had a "pre-determined plan" permanently to disable all Union prisoners of war.

Bolstered by this report bearing the solemn signatures of Congressmen, the War Department continued its policy of

retaliation upon the helpless Confederate prisoners of war. Before long, disease ran riot and death stalked the Northern prison camps until more than 12 percent of the prisoners were dead. Secretary Stanton had almost succeeded in administering "precisely similar treatment." In the South, where the blockade prevented getting medicines, and the war on the transporation system prevented the Confederates from feeding their prisoners, 15.5 per cent of the captives died.

The end of the Civil War did not bring an end to official propaganda on the subject of Confederate atrocities on prisoners of war. After the war, the Jacobins continued their program of destroying the South's economic system. As they proceeded to impose military government on the South in a drastic program of "Reconstruction," they needed to keep the prison atrocity stories alive. Unless, so their argument ran, the Southerners were controlled at the point of a bayonet, they would re-establish slavery and rise again in an effort to destroy the Union.

Accordingly, in 1869, the Jacobins in the House of Representatives appointed a committee to report again on the prisoners. "Rebel cruelty," duly reported the committee, "demands an enduring truthful record, stamped with the National Authority." The committee took testimony, oral and written, from 3,000 witnesses, and they issued a heavily documented volume which stamped "with the National Authority" all the horror stories of the Confederate prisoners and proved conclusively the Jacobin doctrine that the Confederates were fiends, Jefferson Davis was a beast, and no rebel could ever be trusted with a ballot. To the Jacobin it was clear that the whole South should be made to suffer forever for its sins.

## Experience of World War I

Such was the history of one aspect of Civil War propaganda. To it might be added a footnote from the First World War. In that war, too, atrocity stories played a major role in "firing" the Allied heart. After the war, Sir Arthur Ponsonby and others examined the stories of the Belgian babies, of the cathedral monks tied to bell-clappers, and the famed corpse rendering factory. They found the stories interesting and ingenious, but untrue.

One set of stories, however, was debunked by officers of the American Army. In 1918, the American Third Army moved in to occupy a part of the Rhineland. As Colonel I.L. Hunt, Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs, tells the story:

> Hardly had the guns ceased firing on the morning of November 11, when Allied prisoners began to straggle over from the German lines. These returning prisoners were in a pitiful condition. They were all ravenously hungry, and most of them in rags and indescribable filth . . . The sight of the deplorable condition of the prisoners caused bitter resentment among the Allied troops. Some of these prisoners brought stories of terrible conditions of hunger in the prison camps from which they had been released.

Promptly, the Armistice Commission protested to the Germans against this brutality, and threatened reprisals. The Germans denied the charges, and said that the prisoners had muntinied in the camps and had made their way to the Allied lines without waiting for proper transportation.

Then came more stories—stories about the prisoners who were still in German camps and who were being "brutallly treated by German guards after the signing of the Armistice." Again the Armistice Commission protested, and prepared to use the stories to impart harsher retaliation on the Germans. But then the American representatives on the Commission investigated and, says Col. Hunt, it was "discovered that the statements made by the Germans were, in fact, true."

The prisoners had revolted, and had made their way without rations to the Allied lines. This "was sufficient to account for the deplorable condition in which they arrived." Moreover, the camps in the interior had been deprived of supplies by the Allied victory and by internal revolution.

"As a matter of fact," concluded Col. Hunt, "it had been established that the American prisoners were, on the whole, well treated in the German internment camps. Their rations were not good, but, thanks to the Red Cross, 'they actually fared better than the German troops who were guarding them.'"

The memory of these cases from two previous wars should have a sobering effect at the present time. The current deluge of atrocity stories, vouched for by the State Department, and soon to be stamped with the national authority by visiting congressmen, may turn out, of course, to be true. They were not true in 1864 and in 1918, and even if they were true in 1945 they would have to furnish a rational basis for sadistic retaliation on prisoners of war or for enslaving the German people in a short-sighted surrender to the lust for revenge, that can only serve to wreck the hope for enduring peace.

# *Red Cross Humanitarianism In Greece, 1940-45*

R. CLARENCE LANG

## I. Points of Reference

In the summer of 1946, I volunteered for a student assignment with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) to help war-devastated Europe. My hope was to see Germany and Austria; instead, after being shipped out of Houston with about 850 horses from Mexico on board, I ended up for a few days in Salonika, Greece, known in the New Testament as Thessalonika.

Some 15 years later, I casually mentioned this to Prof. D. Peter Meinhold at the University of Kiel, Germany, where I completed my doctorate in history. He in turn spoke of his wartime adventures in Greece. A chaplain in the German army, which occupied Greece, Dr. Meinhold served there as a liaison between the Axis occupation forces and the IRC (International Red Cross), which provided material aid for the starving Greek population during the war. Dr. Meinhold told me that this aid saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of Greeks.

Newly aware of this episode of wartime humanitarism, I was interested to note its mention of it in a college textbook, *A History of England*, by Goldwyn Smith. Upon writing the author, I learned that Smith, a Canadian, had worked for British Intelligence during World War II. While on duty in Ottawa, Canada, he would now and then see Henry Wallace, the American vice president, walking through the Intelligence Office. After inquiring, Smith learned that Wallace was involved in implementing aid for occupied Greece. In his textbook Smith claims this aid saved the lives of "millions" of Greeks.[1]

Later, by chance, while paging through the *Congressional Record* for the House of Representatives for 1943 in a used

bookstore in San Antonio, I discovered that the Minnesotan Harold Knutson, the Republican minority leader, had delivered a 20-minute humanitarian plea for the Allies to modify their blockade, as they did in the case of Greece, so that the IRC could alleviate the suffering and starvation of women and children in occupied Europe. Knutson used the IRC help in Greece as a model and formula which could be implemented elsewhere. Supported by some of his fellow Republicans, Knutson spoke of "those who cold-bloodedly tell us that human beings are replaceable." Knutson claimed that "the present relief work in Greece, initiated by Turkey, and now being carried on by the Swedish and Swiss Red Cross, *prove that relief work can be extended to Poland, Norway, Denmark, and the Low Countries, where pestilence, famine, and death walk hand in hand* [emphasis added]." He insisted that just one word from either Roosevelt and Churchill "would banish all the horror of famine and pestilence" and then named the afflicted countries once more.[2]

Knutson's passionate pleas were the tip of an iceberg. For throughout the war such influential persons as former president Herbert Hoover; the noted banker Harvey D. Gibson; the English bishop of Chichester, George Bell; the congressman and former executive secretary of the European Relief Council (1920-1), Christian A. Herter, who backed Knutson in the House; and the American Quaker John Rich and the English Quaker Roy Walker all called frequently for Allied humanitarian involvement in occupied Europe.[3]

Before America entered the war, and thus before war censorship, Herbert Hoover made an appeal to the American people on radio, terming the results of the British blockade "this holocaust." He questioned: "Can one point to one benefit that has been gained from this holocaust?" The *Christian Century* of October, 1941, devoted an article to Hoover, writing, "Out of the agony and bitterness of these days, one great humanitarian figure is emerging in America."[4]

Six months later, on April 22, 1942, the Famine Relief Committee was formed—one of several such groups—with some 20 members. Its goal was to persuade the Allies to modify their blockade of all foodstuffs to the Axis-occupied countries of Europe. When the committee decided to end its activities, and hand over the balance of its funds to the Friends Relief Service for use among young children in Poland shortly before the war's end, it stated in its final report:

> It would have been obvious to all intelligent people that our food blockade of the continent of Europe would bring untold torture and sufferings to our friends and allies and would do little or no harm to our enemy . . . It has been possible to obtain proof that our food blockade did not shorten the war by a single hour . . . History will judge our government harshly for its futile persistence in a policy of total blockade of foodstuffs.[5]

Mindful of the historical challenge presented by the Famine Relief Committees and at the same time paying tribute to the all true humanitarians of World War II, let us look at the involvement of the International Red Cross in Greece.

## II. The Wartime Humanitarian Aid to Greece

The Swiss, Marcel Junod, who initially played an important role in Red Cross work in wartime Greece, devoted a chapter of his book *Warriors Without Weapons* to Greece ("Unhappy Arcadia").[6] Although the book affords valuable insights into the work of the IRC, it is, nevertheless, short, and lacks a bibliography. On the other hand, the Greek Red Cross, using as its model the final report of the IRC on its aid to Belgium during World War I, in which Hoover played such an important part, in 1949 issued, in French, its final report. An extensive report of over 600 pages, the Red Cross report abounds with charts and graphs, making the IRC aid to Greece a well-documented aspect of World War II.[7] From these two principal sources, as well as others, emerges the following historical picture of the Greek famine in the winter of 1941-42.

In October 1940 the Italians invaded Greece and the British immediately extended their blockade to include Greece. The fighting disrupted the fall planting, and created an acute shortage of farm workers as well as of horses, tractors, gasoline, and insecticides. Railroads, highways and roads were disrupted, bridges destroyed, and irrigation systems damaged. The fall of 1940 was exceedingly dry, the summer of 1941 very hot, and the winter of 1941-42 exceedingly cold. In the spring of 1941 the Germans and Bulgarians invaded Greece to support the faltering Italians. The result was more privation and more refugees as the Bulgarians occupied a rich agricultural area, while the Germans used Greece as a supply base for Rommel's army in North Africa.

Nevertheless, the Red Cross was able "to distribute 800,000 bowls of soup" in the winter of 1941, and establish "450 feeding centers for 100,000 children over seven and 130 nursery centers for 74,000 infants."[8] The IRC report estimated

that 250,000 Greek deaths were caused by the shortage of food and clothing—this out of a population of 7,300,000. Most of the deaths, however, occurred in the winter of 1941-42.[9]

According to Junod, much of this aid plan was initially worked out in the neutral Turkish capital of Ankara, in which the German ambassador, Franz von Papen, among others, played an important role.

The IRC's humanitarian breakthrough was due to the success of the Swiss Red Cross and the Swedish Red Cross in gaining the intervention of the Swedish government, which conducted the complicated but necessary negotiations with the various belligerent capitals. Noteworthy, in this connection, is the work of the IRC representative, Carl Burckhardt, a Swiss, who was the chief IRC negotiator in Berlin and elsewhere.

On August 29, 1942, in the midst of World War II, humanitarianism triumphed when the Swedish ships *Formosa, Carmelia* and *Eros*, chartered by the IRC, docked in Piraeus, the harbor of Athens, with some 16,000 metric tons of Canadian wheat. In the ensuing months 91 other shiploads arrived, 84 from Canada and 7 from Argentina. Before the IRC role was taken over by UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) in the spring of 1945, 610,000 tons had been shipped across the Atlantic and an additional 102,100 tons provided for the IRC.[10] From August 1942 on, then, the famine was being mastered, so that 10 months later Congressman Knutson could cite Greece as a powerful example in his plea for relaxing the Allied "total" blockade elsewhere.

Since the opponents of relaxing the blockade, no matter how slightly, contended that any aid would help the Axis militarily and thus prolong the war, a statement of several working assumptions of the humanitarians is in order. It should be stressed that the advocates of relaxing the blockade constantly challenged their opponents to substantiate their objections. Supporters of humanitarian aid maintained that while this may have seemed impossible, nevertheless objective specialists could solve the complicated problems without conferring military advantages on any of the belligerents. Or, as the final report observed, despite the many intricate complications involved, "persistence won the day and Greece was fed."

The *modus operandi* that was agreed upon was essentially the same as the one Hoover and his team had worked out in Belgium in World War I.[11]

1. A stipulation was that the Axis were the occupiers of Greece. This was an accepted fact, devoid of moral judgements for the IRC. Since the occupiers did and would have continued in their policy regardless, they were permitted to requisition local food necessary to the occupation. No foreign aid was to go to the occupying forces and these forces were not to be directly involved in the distribution. The occupying authorities promised not to take any more foodstuffs out of Greece than they had done before the IRC aid was initiated. Since the Germans had an acute manpower shortage everywhere, they, self-evidently, kept their occupational forces to a minimum. IRC representatives could monitor food shipments to spot any violations.

2. Resistance came from the Allies, not the Axis. The Allies limited the aid to 15,000 metric tons a month. In fact, Eugene Lyons, in his biography of Herbert Hoover, went so far as to claim, "In June 1942, the Turkish government insisted on sending in food. The British and American governments regulated this Greek relief, since they could not stop the Turks in any case."[12]

3. The Swedish ships chartered by the IRC needed to have their voyages cleared in Berlin before leaving Canada or Argentina. The ships were clearly marked, sailed in pairs, and had to follow a strict, pre-arranged course. Any deviation could spell disaster, as German submarines were active. In the event, the Germans sank no IRC ships. However, ships hit mines in the Mediterranean and ships were sunk by erring American and Italian planes. It had been agreed that no restitution complaints could be filed.

The ships were inspected by the British in Gibraltar and by the Germans in Piraeus.

5. Upon arrival and inspection by the Germans, the cargo was taken over by a neutral High Administration, consisting of seven Swiss and eight Swedes, with the Swedish chargé d'affaires playing an important part.[13] Any violation on the part of the occupying forces was reported to him. The aid was transported inland without charge and was custom- and tax-free. Thousands of persons, Greeks and non-Greeks, were involved.

6. Local priests and churchemen played important roles in many places, especially outside the larger cities.

Since these humanitarians, whether from the Red Cross, whether Quakers, Unitarians, churchmen or others on both

sides of the Atlantic, were convinced that such aid was possible elsewhere in occupied Europe, a historical look at factors favoring this is merited.

### III. The Possibility of Implementing Similar Aid Elsewhere

1. Although the tendency is to speak and write of an all-encompassing war in Europe, a glance at the map indicates that there were neutral countries strategically located to facilitate humanitarian-foreign aid.

In the eastern Mediterranean there was, as seen above, neutral Turkey, with a long coastline facing toward Greece, a European territory adjoining the Balkans, and a vast hinterland reaching far into Asia. This meant that what was achieved in Greece was possible in other Balkan countries. Neutral Portugal, Spain and Ireland offered way stations for aid from across the Atlantic; neutral Sweden straddled the North Sea and Baltic. Although landlocked, neutral Switzerland was in the heart of warring Europe. Switzerland had a strong humanitarian tradition; transportation of goods was free; and the cities of Basel and Zurich were close to Germany, while Geneva, the Red Cross Center, has also been the seat of the international League of Nations.

2. As pointed out, the reluctance was not from the German side. Junod, who was not overly pro-German, claimed: "Germany had no interest in stopping the supply of foodstuffs to a famished continent."[14] Similar claims were made by many others, including Congressman Knutson, the Famine Relief Committee, and the writer of the final report of the International Red Cross in Greece.[15] In the Red Cross report one even finds subdued praise for the Germans: as is pointed out, for the Germans it was no small matter that scores of foreign delegates roamed Greece carrying out their independent administrative activities on a grand scale. The Germans showed a great trust.[16] My personal knowledge of others like Prof. Dr. Meinhold leads me to agree. Meinhold told me proudly, "The Germans didn't want nor did they get even one kernel."

Similarly, Philip E. Ryan, an American director of the Red Cross, writing about aid to Allied prisoners of war in Germany, claimed that the IRC handled over 300,000 tons of supplies for Allied prisoners. In 1947 he wrote that for the year 1943 ". . . the record of delivery of goods consigned to Americans in prison camps in Europe showed receipts of 99.93% of the goods shipped." "Delivery," he continues, "in

1944 and 45 was somewhat less effective," but he hastens to add that this was "occasioned in part by losses resulting from Allied air attacks on transportation points in Germany and the general disruption in a country approaching military defeat."[17] In the final report of the IRC one reads that this neutral commission encountered a true understanding of its work and that difficulties were smoothed out, as easily as the circumstances of the war permitted.

A similar German willingness is also apparent elsewhere, as in Poland (as long as such aid was possible, that is, before the American involvement in the war from December 1941. Thus Rabbi Abraham Shinedling, in his long article (ten pages) in the 1942 *Collier's Yearbook* covering 1941, wrote that in January 1941, "the Joint Distribution Committee of America was assisting at least 600,000 destitute Polish Jews."[18]

Hoover, who kept up the humanitarian pressure throughout the war, in 1941 used Poland as an example that the German military could be trusted. Thus John Cudahy, former U.S. ambassador to Poland, called Hoover "the greatest expert of the world on saving famishing humanity," and speaking of Hoover's proposal to set up American soup kitchens in Belgium for the feeding of 1,000,000 adults and 2,000,000 children, claimed, "For a year and a half before the German-Russian phrase of the war, Hoover's food relief functioned in Poland. There depots were set up in Cracow and Warsaw for distribution to Poles, Jews and Ukrainians, *without interference by German military forces nor has there been any attempt to seize any supplies by the Germans* [emphasis added]." "The former president," wrote Cudahy, "points to this example as proof of what may be expected from the German Army in fulfillment of the undertaking in Belgium."[19]

3. Just as the prisoner-of-war camps were easily transformed into Red Cross distribution centers, the same could have been done with certain German concentration camps. (As will be shown, some of this was done.)

In the 1948 *Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross 1941-46* one finds, "The distribution of relief in camps was more easily controlled than distribution among the civilian population of a country."[20]

Simply formulated: What other wartime option did the Germans have, in the face of their massive manpower shortage, but to import large numbers of foreigners, men and women, for employment in German industry and agriculture? The problems in terms of work discipline and security were

such that these millions of alien workers were housed in labor and even concentration camps, which were transformed into huge manufacturing complexes as the war progressed. The German manpower shortage, in the face of strong underground resistance which engaged in effective guerrilla operations and even more effective economic sabotage, further complicated things by encouraging resort to terror tactics in policing.

In fact this massive reliance on foreign and captive labor afforded an opportunity to thwart the Anglo-American hunger blockade through centralized distribution to millions of workers in Central Europe. At the same time this use of foreign labor, as well as the concentration of the Jews in camps and ghettoes, gave Allied propagandists the opportunity to claim that these German policies were part of a grand plan to exterminate non-Germans.

Had the Anglo-American Allies been willing to allow shipping additional food and clothing, some camps were strategically located and could have at times been useful for IRC aid. Thus Stutthof was on the Baltic Sea, convenient to Sweden. Mauthausen, Dachau, and Buchenwald were immune from much of the Allied bombing, and these camps, plus Bergen-Belsen, were fairly accessible by rail from Switzerland. That this was more than an option is shown by the fact that despite Allied sabotage and hindrance of aid to the camp deportees ". . . from the 12 November 1943 to the 8th of May 1945, some 751,000 parcels . . . were sent by the IRC to deportees in concentration camps."[21] Beside the Allied restrictions there were also inner-camp problems in the distribution. This was so at least in Buchenwald. There much of the distribution was in the hands of the prisoners' committees. These committees were dominated by the Communists, since they had been in the camp the longest.[22] The prisoners' committees tended to give food to those who toed the mark for the Communists. To solve this the IRC and others insisted that parcels could be sent only to specific persons, so that reception could be acknowledged. But internees had often changed their names and were thus difficult to locate in the midst of chaotic conditions. The circumstances, and not German policy, were the problem.

4. Across occupied Europe there was a network of churches, which was left intact by the Germans, and as the IRC final report pointed out, church connections were most helpful in Greece.

5. The Americans, Canadians and others were willing to help. A bill to aid the peoples of the occupied countries was passed by the U.S. Congress as late in the war as the spring of 1944.[23] Despite Allied war demands there was no shortage of agricultural goods in Allied countries. Canada, for example, had its biggest crop in the summer of 1942. Neutral ships were available. Money was no problem, for various humanitarian organizations, in addition to the churches, were eager to help. (Also available were the financial assets and shipping properties of the occupied countries which had been seized by the Americans and Canadians.) The governments-in-exile advocated such aid. Pacifists were eager to volunteer despite the risks involved.

Despite these favorable factors, the humanitarians were frustrated in their endeavors, with the exception of Greece. Their frustrations were rooted in the deliberate intransigence of the Allies.

## IV. IRC Humanitarianism Versus the "Cloak" of UNRRA Humanitarianism

Regarding aid to occupied Europe, two basic thrusts in American political leadership are to be distinguished. One, as noted, was associated with congressmen such as Knutson. The other was that of President Roosevelt's "inner clique".

For men such as Knutson and Hoover, the overall American policy should have been one of minimizing the war's human losses without jeopardizing an Allied victory. In Knutson's approach one can also isolate a racial aspect, for in singling out Roosevelt and Churchill, he charged, "The future of white civilization in Europe rests in their hands." Knutson and his supporters, like the Red Cross, sought to provide, without much fanfare, as much aid as possible *before the actual Allied military liberation.* Thus the basic question was whether aid should be supplied before, or only after, the military liberation.

Evidently, there was a split within the Roosevelt Administration regarding such matters. Thus William C. Bullitt, although he does not mention humanitarian aid, wrote in 1946, "Few errors more disastrous have ever been made by a president of the United States and those citizens of the United States who bamboozled the President into acting as if Stalin were a cross between Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, [these citizens] deserve a high place on the American roll of dishonor. A government of the United States would have begun in 1941 to declare as a peace aim the creation of a

democratic European Federation and would have directed all its politics and policies in Europe toward the achievement of that aim."[24]

Since Bullitt spoke of directing "all . . . economic policies" to outflank Stalin, it would seem that he did not stand in the way of IRC aid. A masterstroke for Roosevelt's "inner clique," which excluded Bullitt, was the formation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitational Administration clique in late 1942. Its unexpressed aim was to undermine the effectiveness of the humanitarian work of such organizations as the Red Cross and the Christian churches.[25]

Factors favoring the humanitarians were deliberately sabotaged by the Allies. Thus Jan Ciechanowski, the Polish ambassador to the United States during the war years wrote, in his *Defeat In Victory* (1947), regarding the UNRRA: "It was known to only a few people in Washington—outside the secret inner sanctum of the Big Four Powers, the United States, Britain, Soviet Russia and China—that the pattern of Power dictatorship was first secretly *introduced through the innocent-looking greatest relief organization in the world—the UNRRA* [emphasis added]."[26]

What made the IRC the IRC was its helping for the sake of helping, helping human beings because they were human beings, that is, humanizing without dehumanizing. The key was to help *now and not later.* The Swiss Max Huber, who repeatedly articulated the Red Cross version of humanitarianism, pointed out that the IRC must be above all national, political and racial ties, even regarding the Fascists and the National Socialists. His model, which served as well for such other humanitarians as the Quaker Hoover, was the good Samaritan of the New Testament (the Germans speak of the compassionate Samaritan). In the New Testament that parable was spoken by Jesus in response to the question: "Who is my neighbor?" Huber was of the opinion that this was not just a parable, but that Jesus had an actual episode in mind—perhaps somewhat embellished by tradition. Without having a clear-cut future ideal or vision, the Samaritan, overcome by compassion, saw the victim's need, responded immediately, and accomplished his deed of helping.[26a]

Applying the response of the good Samaritan to Allied decision-making in World War II, undoubtedly the situation in the winters of 1944, '45 and '46 would have been quite different in Europe if the Allies had cooperated more fully with the IRC. Yet, according to Red Cross documentation,

"The Allied blockade control of exports from Switzerland grew" even "stricter as the years passed." For the real policy of Roosevelt and his advisors, those whom Bullitt termed bamboozlers, was one of undermining and countering the IRC approach. Their approach was based on the UNRRA version of humanitarianism: *instead of giving aid while the war was in progress, the truly humanitarian approach was to amass it and wait until the war is over.* Thus UNRRA, for example, made "mass purchases to build up stock" just to undercut the Red Cross.[28] The word "rehabilitation" was employed to justify this refusal to help during the war.

A strong element in this approach was the Morgenthau Plan for the Germans, a plan never officially adopted but nevertheless largely carried out. An American Lutheran churchman who was directly involved with church aid to Germany after the war called the Morgenthau Plan "vengeful."[29] In other words, the UNRRA approach was closely linked with the conviction that the world had to solve forever what was termed "the German problem." In so doing one could create a model for solving the world's racial problems and the problem of anti-Semitism everywhere. In a way, the same mentality that ordered the bombing of Dresden and Pforzheim weeks before the end of the war also worked against the Red Cross. By allowing the adoption of the UNRRA version of humanitarianism, Roosevelt and Churchill cold-bloodedly sacrificed millions of human beings on the altar of unconditional surrender, in the same way that Stalin had done with the Ukrainian kulaks in the 1930's.

Since Huber, Hoover and others found deep inspiration in the parable of the good Samaritan, a parable closely connected with the Christian tradition, there is also a churchly aspect to this. Some may say that war is war and that therefore Christian considerations were not relevant. Yet when Roosevelt and Churchill met on the American cruiser *Augusta*, in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland in August, 1941, they formulated the Atlantic Charter, and "Frank and Winnie" sang the Christian hymn that goes *"Onward Christian soldiers marching as to war, With the cross of Jesus going on before,"* at a worship service. The American, Canadian and British armed forces all had Christian military chaplains, paid by their governments. How can one avoid the Christian dimension?

From a Christian standpoint, regarding the two versions of humanitarianism, there is indeed a difference between those who profess faith in God and those, who devoid of this faith,

aim to realize their own future idea. The disparity is evident also in the difference between the so-called religious principles and the commandments of God. Principles lack, in some ways, the urgency of God's commandments. The good Samaritan could have waited and justified his refusal to help by saying, "I'll have to report this to the police," or, "I need to protect myself so I can help other victims in the future." For this Samaritan, however, the only thing that mattered was helping *now*. The IRC thought and acted likewise.

Clearly at odds with the Christian imperative was the conduct of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches in actually adopting the un-Christian UNRRA policy of withholding material aid to Germany to further its preconceived postwar plan for the Germans. It was in accordance with this plan that a delegation of eight from the Professional Committee sought to establish postwar fellowship with representatives of the newly formed German Protestant Church at Stuttgart in October 1945. There, in the name of ecumenism, the PCWCC delegation, in cooperation with the British and American military, wielded the implied threat of withholding material assistance in feeding and clothing the German people unless the German churchmen complied with their demand: to formulate and sign a declaration of an all-German guilt for World War II. Thereby the Provisional Committee adopted an un-Christian unilateralism of guilt, out of step with true Christianity but quite in step with the inhuman unconditional surrender demands proclaimed by President Roosevelt at Casablanca in 1943.[30]

The World Council of Churches' action also had important theological ramifications. The notion of a unique, all-German guilt flew in the face of the universality of Christian baptism. It meant that the World Council was driven by a sectarian political obsession, thus making it a sect which pre-empted the term "church" for its sectarian purposes. This sectarian, theocratic (legalistic) spirit became further evident in the imposition of pre-conceived standards, regarding the leadership of the postwar German Protestant churches, on the Germans. That is, it was insisted on that only those who had publicly opposed National Socialism could qualify as church leaders. Such sectarianism, therefore, even set its own stipulations regarding discipleship and apostleship, pre-empting the twelve of the New Testament. A clergyman like Prof. D. Meinhold, who personally contributed in helping to

save the lives of thousands of Greeks, would not have qualified as a church leader, simply because of his service as a chaplain in the German army. Thus the new sect known as the World Council of Churches prostituted not only baptism but also ordination. The World Council of Churches continues to discredit outstanding Christian theologians and church leaders of the past.

This was somewhat foreseen by some at the time. In 1946 the Swiss Karl Alfons Meyer, in his article *Rotes Kreuz in Bedrängnis* (The Red Cross in Distress), wrote of the IRC version of humanitarianism: "The Red Cross, in contrast to all churches and also every form of atheism, was in every way the living model of pure Christianity."[31]

It is high time that those associated with the World Council of Churches—which spoke so nobly in 1945 of the German need for repentance—recognize the error of their ways and follow President Ronald Reagan's lead at Bitburg in 1985, where he termed the German guilt that which is in reality, i.e. "imposed."

Clearly a key reason for the Allies' frustration of IRC and others' attempts to succor occupied Europe was that the resulting privation could be exploited for propaganda purposes. Wartime aid to the people of occupied Europe would have deprived the Allied liberation of a good deal of the impact it achieved through the flow of food, clothing, and medical supplies which followed in its wake. Furthermore, the terrible disease and hunger which afflicted occupied Europe at the war's end could be laid at the door of the "evil" Germans and their "evil" leaders. The horrors caused in no small part by the Anglo-American refusal to relax the blockade would serve as much of the basis for a postwar propaganda which would slowly harden into "history." In turn this history would be harnessed to the task of "re-educating" the Germans and the rest of the world as to the virtues of certain nations and ideologies and the evils of others.

Unquestionably the IRC involvement in Greece, and other related topics, have been neglected in historical writing. One can hardly fault the IRC, the thrust of which is helping from humanitarian motives and not propagandizing for the sake of public relations. As Huber expressed it: "The biblical words tell us that one does not light a lamp and put it under a bushel. Yet, for the IRC the spirit dies as soon as its workers put it above the bushel."[33] The IRC was concerned with helping, not with getting credit, quite unlike the propagandists and the

politicians, whose priorities are often reversed. This explains the IRC's helplessness against UNRRA, and how its "living model of pure Christianity" could be successfully abused by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches. Yet this cannot be the case for honest historians, for as the Famine Relief Committee wrote in its final report in 1945, "History will judge our government harshly for its futile persistence in a policy of total blockade of foodstuffs."[34]

From a humanitarian viewpoint, the decisive time for the English and American leadership in World War II was the summer of 1943, when Knutson and his fellow Republicans made their dramatic plea. Before that, especially before June 1941, the blockade was virtually England's only weapon. But by the summer of 1943 the situation was changing rapidly, and central Europe was in disruption. In the face of this, who would say, realistically speaking, that the IRC aid to the Allied prisoners of war in Germany prolonged the war? Or that the 751,000 parcels to those in the concentration camps or the 714,000 metric tons of food provided for the civilian population in Greece prolonged the war? In fact, it contributed heavily in keeping Greece from falling into the Communist orbit afterwards. Might not similar aid, even if less dramatic, have changed the course of history and prevented countries like Poland from falling into the hands of the Communists? In any case the fact remains that millions of Greeks are alive today because of aid.[35]

In closing, one might ask how men such as Knutson, Hoover, Gibson, Rich, Walker, and the other members of the Famine Relief Committee felt when they read and heard of the horror scenes in the German concentration camps at the war's end. They knew that the Allies could have alleviated at least some of those horrors. But Roosevelt, Churchill, and the others who stymied humanitarian aid stood ready not merely to exploit, but to *create* the circumstances which led to such conditions. Whereas the humanitarians knew that Germans had no patent on man's inhumanity to man, the Allied leaders counterfeited a deceitful image of German brutality which has played a crucial role in the distortion of modern history.

The images from the camps of spring 1945 very much need to be reassessed. It is hoped that this paper is a contribution to that reassessment.

## Notes

1. Goldwyn Smith, *History of England* (Third Edition), New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1957, pp. 782-3. Smith writes: "Without this aid, millions of Greeks would have perished."
2. Congressional Record (1943), pp. 6681-2.
3. In *Collier's Yearbook* (1940), covering 1939, p. 277, John F. Rich is designated a secretary of the Quaker Committee in Poland.
4. *Christian Century*, Oct. 29, 1941. pp. 1326 ff.
5. Ronald C. D. Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, Oxford Univ., New York-Toronto, 1967, p. 266. Bell also protested "against obliteration bombings [against Germany]" in the House of Lords, cf. *Christian Century*, March 22, 1944.
6. Marcel Junod, *Warriors without Weapons*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1951, pp. 164-184.
7. *Ravitaillement de la Grèce, pendant l'occupation 1941-44 et pendant les premiers cinq mois après la liberation. Rapport final de la Commission de Gestion pour les Secours en Grèce sous les auspices du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge.* Imprimerie de la "Société Hellenique d'Editions," S. A. Athènes 1949. The report was edited by Bengt Helger, who was president when the commission was liquidated Nov. 1945 to Sept. 1946. Cf. p. 73 (Evidently this report was never translated into another language.)
8. Junod, *Warriors*, p. 178.
9. *Ravitaillement*, p. 625.
10. *Ravitaillement*, p. 19. Of the 610,000 tons, 470,000 were wheat and wheat product and 140,000 tons dry milk, canned products, vitamins and medicines. Of the 102,100 tons, 3,600 came from Sweden, 2,100 from Turkey, 31,000 from the Axis Powers, 4,400 Greek products, 55,000 from the Military Liaison, and 6,000 was left for the Red Cross by the Germans before they departed. Not included in this total is the tonnage of the ship *Hallaren* which was allowed to operate between Italy and Greece. This ship brought in 55,000 tons of foodstuffs. *Ravitaillement*, p. 97.
11. *Ravitaillement*, p. 58 ff.
12. Eugene Lyons, *Herbert Hoover: A Biography*, Doubleday, Garden City, NY, 1964, p. 361.
13. *Ravitaillement*. The final report lists the Swiss and Swedish delegates. On this list are about 40 Swedes and 20 Swiss. The Swedish list includes 9 professors, a council of the Swedish Supreme Court, naval officers, pastors and bankers.
14. Junod, *Warriors*, p. 157.
15. Although general in nature, the *Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross, 1941-46*, Geneva, 1948, shows that the Red Cross was indeed active throughout the war. Chapter II, entitled "The Blockade," tells of aid to practically all occupied countries. Thus

on p. 298 one finds that 644,900 tons of foodstuffs and clothing were shipped to Poland, and 27,885 tons of pharmaceutical products. This aid was provided, primarily, from within the Third Reich, despite the Allied blockade and deliberate Allied hindrances.

16. *Ravitaillement*, p. 81 and 87.

17. "10 Eventful Years," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. III, 1947, p. 644, under the heading "Prisoners of War."

18. *Collier's Year Book*, P.F. Collier & Son, 1942. P. 340 under Jews. "Early in January, the new Warsaw ghetto for Jews began to be administered by a Jewish Community Council, with 1,000 Jewish 'policemen' guarding the section, which was enclosed by an eight-foot wall. Entrance of 'Aryans' into the Warsaw ghetto was discouraged. That same month, the Joint Distribution Committee of America was assisting at least 600,000 destitute Polish Jews." [Non-Jewish Poles like Germans were termed Aryans.]

    Walter N. Sanning, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, p. 44, claims that in the areas in Poland under German control, there were 757,000 Jews.

19. John Cudahy, *The Armies March*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941, p. 224 ff.

20. *The Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross 1941-46*, Geneva, 1948, p. 14.

21. International Committee of the Red Cross, *The Work of the ICRC for Civilian Detainees in the German Concentration Camps* (1939-1945), Geneva, 1975, p. 24.

22. Noel F. Busch, *Lost Continent?*, Harper, New York and London: 1945. Busch was a well-known writer. On pp. 73 and 74 he tells of his visit to Buchenwald ten days after the liberation. The one-time inmate, Robert Robertin, whose father was fairly well-known in the Czech government, showed him around. "Robertin . . . told me something about the internal organization of the camp and especially of the prisoners' committees, which, according to him, did most of the governing of the camp with the approval of the official Gestapo authorities . . . According to him, they [the committees] were . . . almost wholly Communist-controlled, since the Communists had been the first internees and thus had priority on the best jobs . . . Many of the horrors attributed to the Gestapo authorities were, according to Robertin, not only encouraged by the committees but instigated by them."

23. *Lutheran Companion*, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, IL: May 17, 1944. "On Feb. 15 the Senate passed a resolution, 'urging the Administration to send food to the Nazi dominated countries in western and northern Europe, as has already been done so successfully in Greece. The House passed it unanimously on April 17,'" pp. 3-4.

24. William C. Bullitt, *The Great Globe Itself*, New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1946, p. 193.

25. Sigrid Arne, *United Nations Primer*, New York, Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1945, p. 41. "It [UNNRA] would help Allied nationals, wherever they were found, and needed help. It would *not* help the ex-enemy. It would spend money in Germany to repatriate the French, for instance, but it would not spend money in Germany to help hungry Germans."

26. Jan Ciechanowski, *Defeat In Victory*, Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1947, p. 251. He speaks of the forming of UNRRA in these words: "the veto sneaks in."

26a. Fritz Wartenweiler, *Max Huber*, Zurich: Rotapfel Verlag, 1953, p. 342 ff. (Huber also wrote the foreword for *Warriors without Weapons*).

27. *Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross 1941-46*, Geneva: League of Red Cross Societies, 1948, p. 65.

28. *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

29. Richard W. Solberg, *As Between Brothers*, Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1957, p. 27 and 57.
New York: Helen Lombard, *While They Fought: Behind the Scenes in Washington, 1941-46*, Charles Scribner & Sons, 1947. This highly informed correspondent gives us a keen insight into this re-education on page 313: "Shortly after the occupation of Germany by American troops, the education and orientation branch of the Army started producing moving pictures for the guidance of the G.I. in Germany. They were not for release within the Untied States but one of them was privately shown after a Washington dinner party in honor of Undersecretary of War and Mrs. Patterson. The movie portrayed the German people preparing for World Wars I and II. The 'sound' accompanying the film was a man's voice. It exhorted the American soldier to hate all Germans—from the smallest child to the very aged.
"'Of course, someday the German people will have to be reeducated. They will have to be taught the ways of democracy. But that will be done by *one of our Allies!*'"—was the ending message. The company, largely composed of War Department and administration officials, applauded vigorously."

30. Cf. also R. Clarance Lang, "Imposed German Guilt: The Stuttgart Declaration of 1945," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Costa Mesa, CA Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1988.

31. Karl Alfons Meyer, *"Rotes Kreuz in Bedrängnis,"* a special reprint from the *Schweizer Monatshefte* (June 1946). Meyer further stressed "We must battle and salvage the International Red Cross."
In 1943, a special edition article appeared entitled *Reconstruction Supplement, The Red Cross*, "The Future of the Red Cross" by Lieut.-Col. L.E. Gielguid, MBD, which is most critical of the neutrality of the Red Cross. He speaks of "meaningless neutrality." This was an attempt, like others, to politicize the organization, integrating it into the UNRRA concept of humanitarianism.

32. Regarding the "evil" of the Germans, one can easily overlook the strong Allied psychological impetus promoting the idea of "evil," that is, the Allied need for exoneration. In 1933 Jewish leaders called for an

economic and financial boycott against Germans and German goods. During the war the Allies whitewashed the crimes of Josef Stalin. Late in the war the Allies needlessly bombed German cities, such as Dresden and Pforzheim, and, through UNRRA, sabotaged the work of humanitarian organizations such as the International Red Cross. Even the World Council of Churches used and is still using the idea of German "evil" for its selfish organizational purposes.

33. Wartenweiler, *Max Huber*, p. 343.

34. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 343.

35. Sumner Welles, *Where Are We Heading?* New York: Harper, 1945. p. 171. Welles, after the war, deplored the "lack of organized force of trained personnel." He claimed, ". . . it can be asserted that for lack of effective organization to meet a situation which should have been foreseen, many thousands of innocent persons experienced a degree of tragedy and suffering which was altogether unnecessary." Welles might have added, that if UNRRA had not undermined the work of such organizations as the Red Cross, much could have been alleviated. But the leaders of America, many of them emigrés from the Third Reich, had re-education on their minds. And although this was quite un-American, they were prepared to use, and did use, the chaotic conditions of the war and an imposed starvation for that purpose.

# *Book Reviews*

**MADE IN RUSSIA: THE HOLOCAUST by Carlos W. Porter. Uckfield, Sussex, England: Historical Review Press, 1988, Pb., 415 pages, $10.00, ISBN 0-939484-30-7.**

*Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe*

A stumbling block for Revisionists, just as it was for the postwar German defendants, is the seeming wealth of documents and testimony assembled by Allied prosecutors for the Nuremberg trials. The more than sixty volumes of trial material which appeared in the wake of the "Trial of the Major War Criminals" and twelve subsequent trials before the (American) Nuremberg Military Tribunal have for many years supplied a massive compilation of apparently damning evidence against Germany's National Socialist regime. Most Exterminationists, academic and lay, believe that Germany's "aggression" in beginning the war, and the numerous atrocities and war crimes laid to the German account, above all the alleged Holocaust of European Jewry, are amply documented in the so-called "Nuremberg record."

A critique of the Nuremberg trials, from a number of different angles, has been a staple of Revisionist writing since the trials. Revisionist authors who chose not to contest directly the Holocaust charges (e.g. F.J.P. Veale) attacked the trials for their various failings in equity, jurisdiction, etc. Holocaust Revisionists, such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, have focussed on specific abuses involved in producing testimony and evidence in support of the Holocaust, from physical and psychological pressure exerted to obtain confessions and affidavits to the authenticity of certain of the documents transcribed and reproduced in the various Nuremberg volumes.

To date no Revisionist, Holocaust or otherwise, has mounted an assault on the Nuremberg "evidence" equal in intensity to that undertaken by Carlos W. Porter in *Made in Russia: The Holocaust.* Porter's technique is to confront the documents directly, by reproducing page after page from the 42-volume *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (the Blue Series).

Porter's tactic is audacious and provocative: he gives Allied prosecutors and their witnesses the floor and lets them strut their stuff for a good seventy-seven pages before deigning to answer their charges at any length. The catch is that most of the charges are so bizarre that Exterminationists have long since quietly let them lapse. Porter will have none of this, however: a stern Ghost of Holohoaxery Past, he puts the Nuremberg trials on trial by forcing the reader to confront the sort of tripe with which American, Soviet, British, and American prosecutors burdened the Germans and their leaders.

How many people know that at Nuremberg the Germans were accused of, along with killing about six million Jews:

—vaporizing 20,000 Jews near Auschwitz with "atomic energy";

—killing 840,000 Russian POW's at Sachsenhausen concentration camp (in *one month*, with special pedal-driven brain-bashing machines, no less), then disposing of them in mobile [*sic*] crematoria;

—torturing and killing Jewish prisoners to the tempo of a specially composed "Tango of Death" in Lvov;

—steaming Jews to death like lobsters at Treblinka;

—electrocuting them en masse at Belzec;

—making not only lampshades and soap but also handbags, driving gloves, book bindings, saddles, riding breeches, gloves, house slippers, etc. from the remains of their victims;

—killing prisoners and concentration camp inmates for everything from having armpit hair to soiled underclothing?

Each of these grotesque claims is on display in *Made in Russia*, reproduced just as it appears in the Nuremberg volumes, and handily underlined and referenced for the convenience of researcher and skeptic alike.

After a sobering (or hilarious, depending on your point of view) survey of Nuremberg atrocity "evidence," Porter reminds readers that at Nuremberg the Soviets introduced reams of so-called evidence purporting to demonstrate that it was the Germans, not Stalin's henchmen in the secret police, who murdered over 4,000 Polish prisoners at Katyn, near Smolensk. As the author points out, an official Soviet stamp sufficed to make false affidavits, phony confessions, faked forensic reports and the like "evidence" admissible at Nuremberg under Articles 19 and 21 of the London

Agreement of August 8, 1945, in which the Allied lawyers devised the rules which would bind judges and defense attorneys at the forthcoming "trial." Americans, Britons, and Frenchmen currently gloating over Soviet discomfiture at the recent insistence of the Polish regime on finally laying the blame for Katyn where it belongs should recall that the Western Allies said not a public word at Nuremberg to challenge the Soviet "evidence" on Katyn (the judges quietly glossed over the Red charges by omitting them from their verdict).

It is the special service of *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* to remind readers that the same Soviet stamp which converted the fake Katyn reports into admissible evidence at Nuremberg also provided proof of the extermination of millions of Jews at Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, and elsewhere. As Porter emphasizes, physical and forensic evidence for the Holocaust was never introduced, nor is there any reason whatsoever to imagine it ever existed. All we have is a handful of "testimonies," and "confessions," and the reports of a number of Soviet or Soviet-controlled "investigative" commissions. If there was a Soviet Fred Leuchter, we have yet to hear from him (and probably never will). The same Red prosecutors who framed the victims of Stalin's purges at the Moscow show trials, and sent millions of innocents to their deaths in our gallant Soviet ally's Gulag archipelago, are the chief source for the vaunted Nuremberg evidence of the "Holocaust."

Porter provides numerous examples of prosecution tactics, usually allowed by the judges, which would make hanging judge Roy Bean, or even Neal Sher, blanche. He points out that the prosecution made it difficult, if not impossible, for the defense lawyers to have timely access to the documents introduced into evidence by the prosecution; that "photocopies" and "transcripts" were almost invariably submitted in evidence by the prosecution instead of the original German documents, which in very many cases seem today to have disappeared; that the defendants rarely were able to confront their accusers, since "affidavits" from witnesses who had been deposed months or even weeks before sufficed; etc., etc., etc.

The author touches on many other aspects of the Holocaust legend, from the feasibility of homicidal gassing with Zyklon-B to the ease with which atrocity photos can be faked (just supply the right caption!) to the Allied prosecutors' propensity for introducing page after page of irrelevant evidence (Porter

reproduces several cartoons from Julius Streicher's anti-Jewish *Der Giftpilz* [The Toadstool] which found their way into the "Nuremberg record").

*Made in Russia: The Holocaust* is vulnerable to several minor criticisms. The many photographs which appear in Porter's book might have been better reproduced. Lawyers may cavil at a few of his interpretations, and doubtless other Revisionist researchers will find bones to pick here and there in some of his assertions on Zyklon, gas chambers, etc.

On balance, however, *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* is a book with something of value for every reader with an interest in Revisionism. Porter, a professional translator and businessman, writes with a mordant irony (the sillier Exterminationists may find a treasure trove of new atrocities to bewail here) and an admirable concision: *Made in Russia* can be gotten through in an hour and a half. After reading it, Revisionists will no longer be in the least awed by the Nuremberg trial volumes, and it is to be hoped that Porter's book will stimulate them to consult this dubious "record" for themselves.

[*Made in Russia: The Holocaust* can be ordered from the Institute for Historical Review, 1822½ Newport Boulevard, Suite 191, Costa Mesa, California 92627 for $10.00.]

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**SOCIAL LIFE, LOCAL POLITICS, AND NAZISM: MARBURG, 1880-1935 by Rudy Koshar. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986, xviii + 395 pages, hardbound, $35, ISBN 0-8078-1694-9.**

*Reviewed by John M. Ries*

By focussing on the "interpenetration of organizational and political life" as it took place in one German town from 1880-1935, Rudy Koshar sets out to provide a fresh perspective on the sociopolitical development of modern Germany and its relation to the rise of National Socialism.

An important if not unique characteristic of the urban bourgeoisie in Germany, beginning in the late 19th century, was its tendency to organize in social groups, or *Vereine.* According to Mr. Koshar, these groups began to take on

greater significance as the traditional political party system of Imperial Germany seemed to lose its hold over the allegiance of the local *Bürgertum*. This "disengagement" from national politics and the resulting sociopolitical "asymmetry," whereby non-political organizations were able to attract a greater political following than the liberal and conservative parties, were the end result of a process which the author calls "apoliticism." As defined here, apoliticism means a "desire to make political concerns, practices, and structures inapplicable to public life." The principal argument of this book is that the success of National Socialism was to a great extent the result of its ability to infiltrate the intricate network of *Vereine* and replace the existing "sociopolitical asymmetry" with a national consensus paradoxically derived from the apolitical tendencies in German social and political life. In other words, the Hitler movement effected the transformation of apoliticism into a mass political party.

Mr. Koshar selected the Hessian town of Marburg an der Lahn as the focus of his study. Marburg was an important religious center dominated by its university, with little large-scale manufacturing or industry, and no significant working-class element. Although not a perfect model, he felt that its predominant bourgeois character within the confines of a small urban area would serve as a sound indicator of the development of middle-class political activity on the grassroots level.

Because of the rich matrix of local *Vereine* that dotted the social landscape of Marburg, the extent of apoliticism could be fairly well documented. One indication was the support given to the so-called traditional personalistic parties like the anti-semitic party of local political agitator Otto Bockel, which became quite popular around the turn-of-the-century in Marburg. This fragmentation became so pervasive that as early as 1887 no single bourgeois party was able to establish or maintain hegemony. Within the safe confines of the club or organization, national issues could be divorced from "hateful party politics," even though they probably remained just as divisive.

Marburg's status as an important *Universitätstadt* further underscored the significance of the local *Vereine* as foci of political activism. Student enrollment quadrupled between 1880 and 1914, witnessing a corresponding increase in membership in student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*). These organizations were particularly active centers of apoliticism,

even when their numbers declined following the end of the First World War. The role played by a student paramilitary group in the killing of Communist workers in March 1920 gave Marburg the reputation of being a reactionary city, a designation which seemed to be borne out in the Reichstag elections of May 1924, when the Völkisch-Sozialer Block, in which the NSDAP played an important part, garnered 17.7% of the local vote. In light of its subsequent rapid decline, however, such a relatively concentrated show of support for the radical Right, according to Mr. Koshar, should be regarded as an anomaly. During the remaining years of the decade, apoliticism widened the gap between politics and social life in Marburg.

This was demonstrated by an increase in political party disunity as the bourgeois parties on both the national and local levels "gave way to splinter parties, municipal special interest alliances, and, in 1929, an unsuccessful mobilization of opponents of the Young Plan." By 1930, the incipient effects of the Depression on an already badly fragmented political milieu earned Marburg the description of a "political no-man's land."

Within this wide breech between social and political life, an almost paradoxical situation had been reached when the forces of apoliticism needed a "political anchor" if the energies that had been released through the disintegration of the political system were to be harnessed. The NSDAP was able to fill this need. Utilizing so-called party "joiners," the Hitler movement brought its message within the intricate organizational network. Eventually, a fusion between the political and social realms was attained which resulted in the swallowing of popular politics by the NSDAP through the absorption of local clubs. For example, white-collar workers who attended a meeting of the National Socialist Labor Front in 1935 were told by the speaker that "the commonweal, the entire *Volk* must benefit from labor, not the individual." These workers could no longer consider themselves part of the local business or club in which they belonged, since all organizations were an integral part of the community. All of this was accomplished, according to Mr. Koshar, not by Hitler's charisma or fanaticism, but by the "moral imperative of the Party, its unique standing in the tradition of bourgeois apoliticism."

Yet cracks began to reappear in the sociopolitical consensus that seemed to be established by the National Socialists. In

Marburg the Bekennende Kirche (Confessional Church), founded in 1934, fought to reassert the boundary between the social and the political realms by countering the Party's strident anti-Christian measures. As a result the Protestant church remained "a fundament of local life" outside of the grasp of National Socialist control.

The growth of the Party through the increased influx of new Marburgers contributed to the dilution of fervor and ideological conviction, as it seemed to appear that the NSDAP had peaked as an eschatological movement and was not just another political party. As it turned out, the failure of the Party to gain full moral authority was caused by more than apathy, resentment, or distrust. It was also more than a result of changes in party membership after Hitler gained power. National Socialist ideology, though "suffused throughout the local culture, had not displaced *Verein* apoliticism."

Although one may find fault with the essential premise of this study, that modern German society was inherently apolitical—a recasting of the well-known Weberian dictum of the German bourgeois as a "political philistine"— the logic of the author's approach must be conceded. Certainly the transcendent nature of National Socialism as a "party above politics" enabled it to take advantage of the chronic political fragmentation that beset the Weimar Republic. Yet this reviewer must take issue with the author's relative neglect of the critical nature of the defeat in the First World War and the ensuing peace treaty in creating the atmosphere for a national reception of the Hitler movement. It is akin to neglecting the effects of the dissolution of Parliament by Charles the First in setting in motion the events which led to the English Civil War. Nevertheless, the mounting confusion in German political life as seen through the history of the organizational life of Marburg proves quite effective. Whether the importance of social organizations is overstressed at the expense of more fundamental causes can only be resolved through a satisfactory answer to the question of the primacy of group behavior as a determinant of human action. All in all, this book is recommended for those interested in a different approach to the "problem" of modern German history.

# *Anne Frank's Handwriting*

ROBERT FAURISSON

One reason for skepticism about the famous diary attributed to Anne Frank is the existence of strikingly different samples of handwriting supposedly written by her within a two and a half year period.

My first work about the Anne Frank diary was published in French in 1980. A translation of it appeared in the Summer 1982 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* under the title "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?" (pp. 147-209).

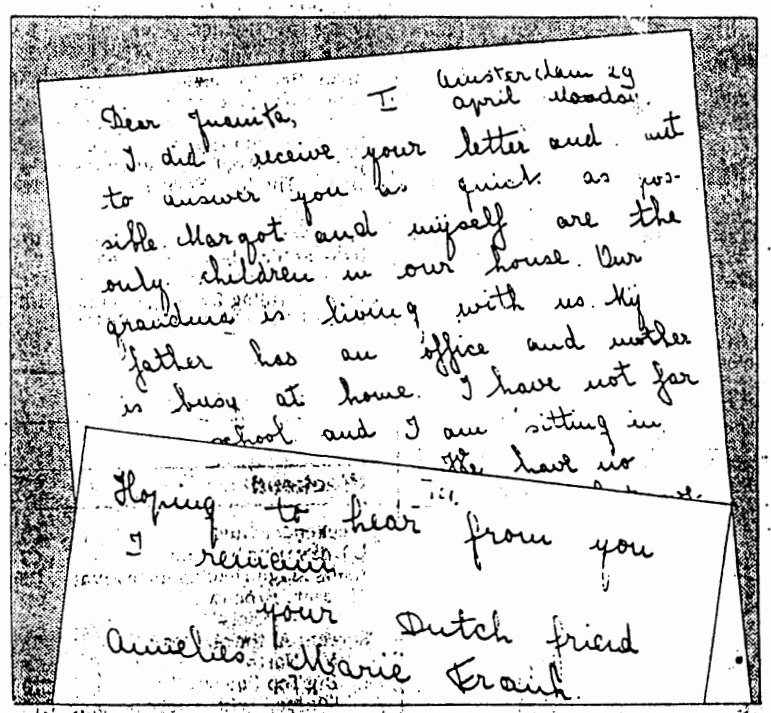
A facsimile reprint of this article was published as a booklet by the Institute for Historical Review in 1985. Two samples of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank appeared on the front cover and on page 209. Each was written when she was about 13 years old, but strangely enough, the earlier one (dated 12 June 1942) looks much more mature and "adult-like" than the sample which was supposedly written four months later (dated 10 October 1942).

In response to growing skepticism about the authenticity of the famous diary, the State Institute for War Documentation in Amsterdam (Rijksinstituut voor Orloogsdocumentatie or RIOD) published a book in 1986 which includes a facsimile of a letter supposedly written by Anne dated 30 July 1941.

The discovery in the USA of some more samples of Anne's handwriting was announced in July 1988. This includes two letters dated 27 and 29 April 1940 and a postcard that was sent with one of the letters, all written to an 11-year-old pen-pal in Danville, Iowa.

These letters create a new problem for the State Institute for War Documentation because the handwriting on them is quite different than the "adult" handwriting of her letter of 30 July 1941 as well as most of the purported diary manuscript.

# Anne Frank Letter to Iowa Pen Pal to Be Sold


Amsterdam 29 april 1940.
Dear Juanita,
I did receive your letter and will to answer you as quick as possible. Margot and myself are the only children in our house. Our grandma is living with us. My father has an office and mother is busy at home. I have not far school and I am sitting in
Hoping to hear from you
I remain
your Dutch friend
Annelies Marie Frank

Portions of a letter sent by Anne Frank to a pen pal in Iowa in 1940.

By RICHARD F. SHEPARD

Pen-pal letters sent by Anne Frank and her sister to two girls in Iowa in 1940, just before the German invasion of the Netherlands sealed the Frank family's doom, have come to light as the result of a decision to auction them in New York in October.

The unusual correspondence, verified by the director of the Anne Frank Center in Amsterdam, consists of two letters, a postcard, two passport-size photographs of the Jewish sisters who were later hidden in a Dutch house until they were found by the Nazis, and the envelope in which it all arrived in Danville, Iowa, nearly a half-century ago. All the items are to be auctioned as a package by Swann Galleries, 104 East 25th Street, on Oct. 25.

The letters are dated April 27 and 29, 1940, the month before the Germans invaded the Netherlands. The letters contain little of the concerns of the world that was careering toward catastrophe and no reference to the condition of the Franks as refugees from Germany who had settled in the Netherlands. The girls wrote in English, which they probably copied from a translation by their father, Otto, from their first drafts in Dutch.

'It Is Called Montessori'

"I am sitting in the fifth class," wrote the 11-year-old Anne. "We have nd hour-classes we may do what we may prefer, of course we must get to a certain goal. Your mother will certainly know this system, it is called Montessori."

She signed the letter Annelies Marie Frank.

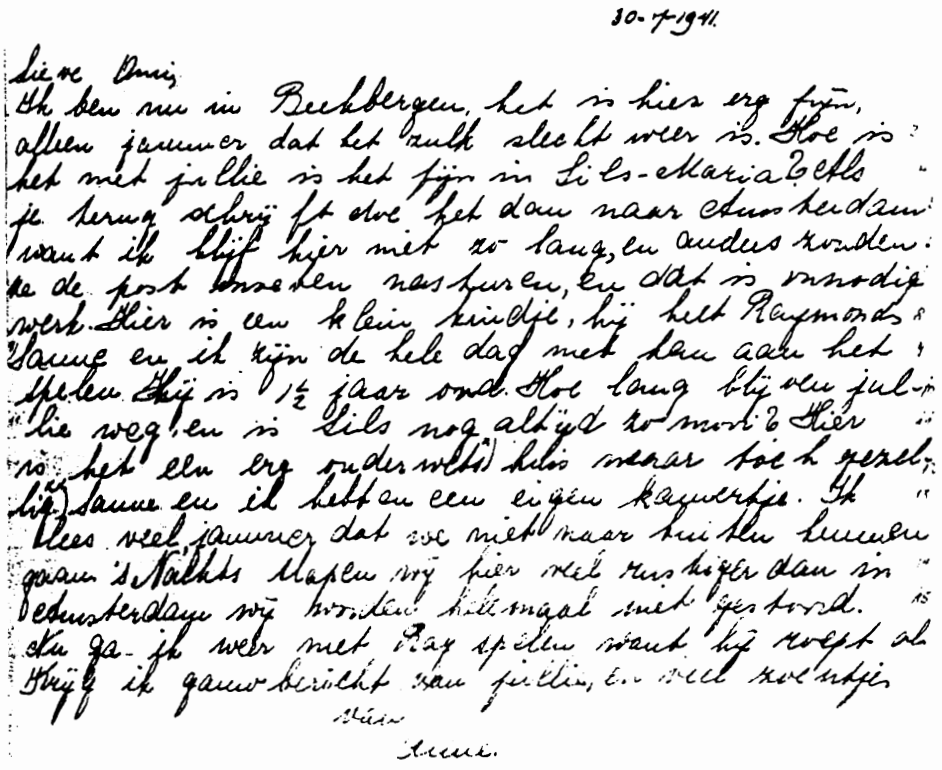
Margot, Anne's older sister, then 14, also described life at home and school and did refer to the threatening political situation, although without expressing alarm.

"We often listen to the radio as times are very exciting, having a frontier with Germany and being a small country we never feel safe," the handwrit-

Continued on Page C27, Column 1

**Sample 1:** 29 April 1940.

Anne was almost 11. Source: *New York Times*, 22 July 1988, p. A1.



30-7-1941.

Lieve Anne,
Ik ben nu in Beekbergen, het is hier erg fijn, alleen jammer dat het zulk slecht weer is. Hoe is het met jullie is het fijn in Lils-Maria? Als je terug schrijft doe het dan naar Amsterdam want ik blijf hier niet zo lang, en anders worden de post tweemaal nagestuurd, en dat is onnodig werk. Hier is een klein kindje, bij het Raymonds Jaime en ik zijn de hele dag met dan aan het spelen. Zij is 1½ jaar oud. Hoe lang blijven jullie weg, en is Lils nog altijd zo mollig? Hier is het een erg ondeugend huis maar toch gezellig. Jaime en ik hebben een eigen kamertje. Ik lees veel, jammer dat we niet naar huis kunnen gaan is Nachts slapen wij hier veel ruimer dan in Amsterdam wij worden helemaal niet gestoord. Nu ga ik weer met Ray spelen want hij roept al. Blijf ik gauw bericht van jullie, en veel zoentjes

Anne.

**Sample 2:** 30 July 1941.

Anne was a little more than 12. Source: *De Dagboeken van Anne Frank*, Amsterdam; RIOD, 1986, p. 126.

Ik zal hoop ik van jou alles kunnen toevertrouwen, zoals ik het nog aan niemand gekund heb, en ik hoop dat je een groote steun voor me zult zijn.

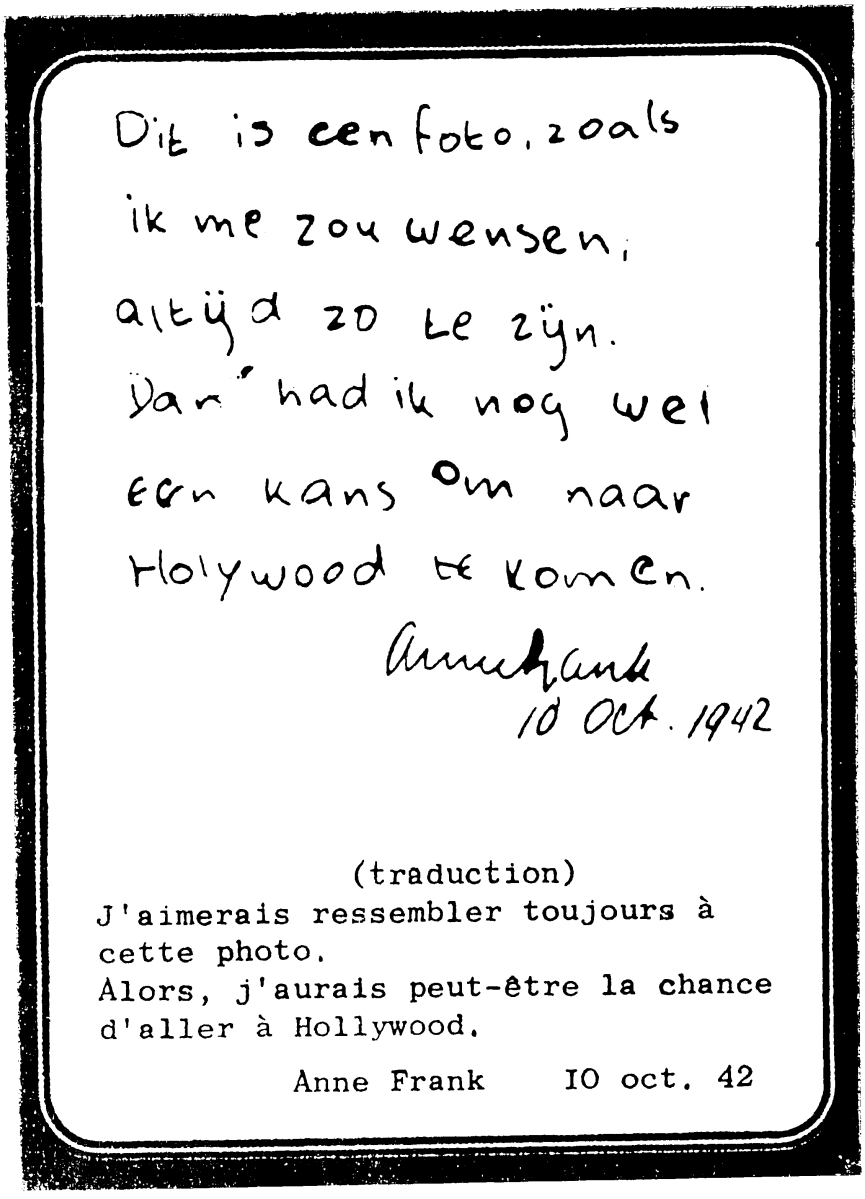
Anne Frank. 12 Juni 1942.

**Sample 3:** 12 June 1942.

Anne was exactly 13. Source: *Journal de Anne Frank*, Calmann-Levy, 1950.

These discoveries strengthen my belief that the "adult" handwriting attributed to Anne is, in reality, very likely the handwriting of one of the persons who officially "helped" Otto Frank prepare the diary for publication just after the war.

Reproduced here are four samples of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank (who was born on 12 June 1929) with their dates.




**Sample 4:** 10 Oct. 1942.

Anne was a little more than 13. Source: *Journal de Anne Frank*, Livre de Poche, 1975.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center (Los Angeles) is supposed to have bought the pen-pal letter.

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# *Wartime German Catholic Leaders and the "Extermination of the Jews"*

R. CLARENCE LANG

In West Germany doubting that 6,000,000 Jews were killed, mostly by gassing, by the Germans in World War II can lead to legal complications. Numerous personal cases demonstrate that a reissue of the censorship practices of the Third Reich is still a reality. Doubters become the target of negative publicity and ostracism. Especially hard hit are those with families. Offenders against the taboo are automatically portrayed as guilty without the right to appeal. Those doubters who refuse to keep their doubts a secret can end up in jail, lose part, if not all, of their pension and their right to gainful employment. Pastors, teachers and university professors are not exempt from these measures. This legal barrier, however, does not prohibit researchers from raising questions as to whether individuals or groups had any knowledge of the "extermination" of the Jews before the end of the war. This ray of German liberty is reflected in the research of the late Jesuit scholar, Ludwig Volk. Father Volk extensively researched official minutes, correspondences and documents of leading German Roman Catholic churchmen. His findings and his reflections were published in the highly scholarly Roman Catholic journal *Stimmen der Zeit*, 1980.[1]

Father Volk's article is entitled "Episkopat und Kirchenkampf im Zweiten Weltkrieg" (The Episcopate and the Church Struggle in World War II). It consists of two parts, the first of which deals with the Episcopate and the German

wartime practice of euthanasia. The second part (pp. 687-702) deals with "Judenverfolgung und Zusammenbruch des NS-Staats" (The Persecution of the Jews and the Collapse of the National Socialist State.) This respected scholar has cited the book *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* by the American Guenter Lewy in one of the footnotes.[2] Since Lewy's book was translated into the German in 1965 and had some impact, it may well have been that Volk was thereupon commissioned by the Church to research this topic. Lewy scathingly attacked what he regarded as indifference on the part of the Catholic leadership in the face of what has become known as the "extermination of the Jews."

On the basis of my hourlong visit with Father Volk in 1984 and my reading of his article, I can state categorically that he was not a Revisionist, as he accepted the Exterminationist claim that Hitler and Himmler carried out, as much as they could, their alleged program to exterminate European Jewry.

Attempting to exonerate his Catholic churchleaders in the face of the charge of blindness and complacency, Volk points out differences between the German euthanasia program, which the church leaders countered sucessfully, and the "extermination" program. Volk tells us that the paramount reason for the success in terminating euthanasia was that enough Germans were aware of the program and thereby could be unified by a common effort. Such was not the case with the purported extermination of the Jews, since Himmler had learned his lesson from his mistakes with euthanasia, and he insisted upon as much secrecy as possible. Thus when the Jews were murdered, there were no announcements of deaths and no cremation urns for the relatives.

Volk speaks of "a thick wall" and "a secret stemming from the highest command." All information connections with the Jews were cut after their deportation to the East. Throughout the article Volk insists, however, that the Catholic leaders were as equally zealous in countering the murder of the Jews as they had been in halting the euthanasia—based on what they knew. The list of churchmen who spoke out on this matter is impressive. It includes two German cardinals, M.F. Faulhaber (Munich), A. Bertram (Breslau), and four German bishops, K. von Preysing (Berlin), J.G. Machens (Hildesheim), W. Berning (Breslau) and H. Wienken, secretary of the Conference of Bishops.

Bishop C. Galen (Münster), the superlatively fearless spokesman against euthanasia, does not figure on Volk's list.

Bishop Galen had to curtail his activities, seemingly for health reasons. One might mention that this vocal fighter against euthanasia died in 1946 while traveling from Rome back to Germany. Bishop Galen made a trip to Pope Pius XII on behalf of the millions of German soldiers still penned up in Allied prison and concentration camps. His untimely death on the train, supposedly from appendicitis, remains shrouded in mystery.[3] Needless to say the victorious Allies, who were then carrying out their vengeful Morgenthau Plan against the Germans, hardly wanted to heed such a voice. It is also noteworthy that after the war Cardinal Faulhaber wrote the American authorities to plead that the condemned in the Nuremberg trials be given the right to appeal after new evidence was presented.[4] He failed. (With some 20,000 Dutch out of a population of about 13 million being annually killed by peacetime "mercy-killing," one wonders what has happened to these fearless Christian voices of yesteryear.)

On the work of alleviating the plight of the Jews, Volk mentions the founding, by Bishop Preysing, of the Bishop's Welfare Agency in Berlin, with Frau Margarete Sommer as its hardworking leader. This agency, founded in September 1938, carried out charity work among the Jews, assisting them especially in their emigration from Germany. Besides this Catholic organ there existed official Jewish organizations of similar function while non-Aryan Protestants (that is, ethnic Jews) had the Paulusbund, named after the Apostle Paul. The latter organization functioned until 1944.

With the onset of the war and the end of Jewish emigration, Frau Sommer's agency, beginning in 1941, became involved in helping Jews deported to the East. Many of the deportation trains either originated in Berlin or passed through the German capital.

In his article Father Volk sketches, as was noted, a relationship between the program of euthanasia and what he calls the murder of the Jews. But he might have pointed out another relationship between the two, as does the 89-year-old Regimentsarzt (regimental surgeon), Henning Fikentscher, who shared some of his thoughts with me. Doctor Fikentscher was involved in the euthanasia program, in the sense that he took mentally incurables to institutions, only to learn months later they they had been eliminated. Fikentscher claims that a contributing factor in this mercy-killing was that the massive emigration and the deportation to the East of incurables and physically handicapped became a problem of sheer numbers,

especially since countries allowed the entry only of healthy persons, erecting strict laws against misfits. Thus the Zionists in Palestine insisted, for example, that they could use only healthy Jews.[5]

A further dimension to the Volk article could have been added if the author had included some ideas from a book by Dr. Erwin Goldmann, *Zwischen den Völkern* (Between Two Peoples—in this case, the Germans and the Jews), written five years before Volk's article. Goldmann, who could trace his ancestry back over 500 years, was a non-Aryan (Jewish) Protestant, who had been associated with both the officially recognized Paulusbund and the Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service). Goldmann was a veteran of World War I. Although he lived in the Stuttgart area, he learned in 1938 that a fellow asset of the Security Service was Georg Kareski, a Berlin banker who was president of the Zionist Organization of Germany. Kareski was consulted by the regime in matters pertaining to Jews. As a Zionist he was concerned, above all, with promoting the migration of Jews to Palestine. He thus accepted the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, knowing that a prerequisite for a meaningful migration to Palestine was to ascertain first of all who was and who was not a Jew.[6]

Likewise, in 1938, Direktor Kareski advocated that Jews be forced to wear the Jewish star. Upon hearing of this, Goldmann, during the winter of 1938, immediately took a train to Berlin having arranged a personal meeting with Kareski by telephone. Kareski let his guest wait in a bitter cold room for an hour and half, and then had a confrontation with Goldmann. As Goldmann put it, if both of them had guns, it would be difficult to say who would have shot the other one first. At one point Kareski asked "What do we have to do with you 'goyim'?,"[7] revealing his antipathy for converted Jews such as Goldmann.

On October 28, 1939 the wearing of the Jewish star by Jews was made law in Poland, and on September 15, 1941 in all the Third Reich.

Writing of this in 1975, Goldmann wrote: "Direktor Kareski recommended the introduction of the Jewish star, which was introduced by Admiral [Wilhelm] Canaris against the protests of most of the National Socialist leadership, including Goebbels."[8]

Father Volk discusses in some detail the issue of the so-called *Mischlinge*, that is, "half and quarter" Jews. Generally, 150,000 is given for the number of *Mischlinge*. Volk points out

that the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 prohibited marriage between non-Aryans [Jews] and Germans, *but it did not break up any existing marriages.*

The *Mischlinge* problem, in its connection with the deportation of the Jews of the Reich, came to a head on February 27, 1943, when some 6,000 women, German wives of the Reich Jews, protested in the detention area in Berlin. Their protests became so embarrassing that the authorities halted the deportation, thereby raising the question: Who deserves credit for this?[9]

Lewy, who argues that this episode shows that vigorous protest could bring results even in Hitler's dictatorial Germany, credits the wives. Volk, on the other hand, terms Lewy's claim mere speculation, and would have us believe that the Catholic Church should be given considerable credit. The fact remains that a law to force the deportation of the *Mischlinge* was never enacted.

Excluding, at this point, such topics as gas chambers from our vocabulary, undoubtedly the fate of the Reich Jews who were deported was not an enviable one. In this regard one should recall Gerald Reitlinger's claim, in *The Final Solution*: "The Reich Jews were not easily assimilated to the conditions of the impoverished Jewish communities of Eastern Poland, *nor did the local Jews welcome them.*" [Emphasis added.] What Reitlinger might have added was the great spiritual, intellectual, social and religious gulf between the two Jewish groups. One had been part of a world which had experienced the Reformation and Enlightenment, while the Polish Jews lived in the world of the Middle Ages. Likewise, speaking of some 1,200 deportees, Reitlinger wrote: "The local Jewish communities would do nothing to feed these Jews from the Reich and the Governor of Lublin, Zörner, tried to shift the responsibility on the Security Police, who had begun the action."[10] The plight of the Reich Jews was a tragic one indeed, as they were rejected by the Zionists and by the Eastern Jews alike.

Father Volk points out that helping the Jews was difficult. For although churchmen were successful in halting the deportation of the *Mischlinge*, by doing so, without demanding more, the churchmen gave latent approval for the deportation of the "racially pure" Jews. Why, then, did church officials remain vague and general? According to Father Volk it was because general accusations were more promising than specific accusations, which required providing specific proof.

Such proof would have meant delays caused by time-consuming investigations during a situation of total war. Here lay the dilemma. The Jesuit, in this connection, speaks also of "a psychic law." That is, the greater the monstrosity of a crime, the greater the demand for specific and actual proof. In short, the task of the Catholic leaders was not an easy one. Had charges been leveled and then disproved, the churchmen's position would have been greatly weakened.

Volk might have augmented his argument by pointing out that the Western Allies, aided by tens of thousands of well-educated emigrés, who knew the languages of Europe very well, and with a widespread underground radio network at their disposal, had a far better knowledge of what was happening in the Third Reich than even the German Catholic prelates. The Allied propagandists must have been aware that German public opinion had halted the euthanasia program. They must have known that 6,000 Christian women in Berlin had halted the deportation of tens of thousands of *Mischlinge* to the East. It is therefore wholly understandable that Volk makes a counterattack aimed at exonerating the German churchmen. As Father Volk writes, it remains ". . . unanswered why the Western Allies did not make the murder of the Jews the most dominant theme in their broadcasts to the Third Reich and use airborne propaganda bombardment leaflets over Germany." Volk insists that by this omission the most powerful means of revealing the criminality of Hitler to the German people was neglected.

Volk makes much of the Bishops' Conference at Fulda in August 1943, the last such meeting of the war. There the deportation of the Jews was widely discussed at length; one could say it was a burning issue. For the churchmen there was no doubt that for practically two years tens of thousands of citizens of Jewish belief and origin (Reich Jews) had been taken by brute force from their homes and shipped to unknown destinations in the East. Thereafter, sooner or later, all connections were broken. Volk goes into considerable detail in explaining why no clear-cut protest emerged. Could it be that the Christian churchmen, knowing that they could not help the deported Jews, feared that their protests might endanger even the *Mischlinge*?

Three months later in 1943, Cardinal Bertram of Breslau, whose see included Auschwitz, publicly protested in writing against the living conditions in what he termed *Massenlager* (mass camps), and insisted that all internees should be

regarded as worthy human beings. This led Father Volk to reflect that Bertram's formulation was in radical contrast to the macabre results of the "Holocaust" as this came to light after the German collapse. Volk writes:

> Despite the relative nearness of the extermination camp of Auschwitz—Breslau was the closest German see—Bertram did not dare [to be specific about the Jewish emigration.] The breakthrough of the truth regarding the final solution first came—and even then with some conditions—in the last general protest from the see of Breslau on January 29, 1944, in which Bertram condemned the separation of the *Mischlinge* because "they are threatened with *Ausmerzung*."

To be sure, *Ausmerzung* can mean extermination, but not necessarily. It can also mean blotting out, culling or separating. Accordingly, bearing in mind the terrible health conditions in the overcrowded camps, the immense German manpower shortages, and the rumors spread by the underground, one might interpret Bertram's terminology as follows: Is it possible to imagine so fearless a Cardinal, so close to Auschwitz, aware of gas chambers exterminating hundreds of thousands of human beings, using a word like *Ausmerzung* in a message devoted only to the fate of half-Jews married to German women? Is there any evidence whatsover that this Catholic prelate knew anything of "extermination"?

Father Volk concludes, in accordance with the taboos which rule German scholarship, that in contrast to the euthanasia program, which was halted because sufficient Germans knew about it, the "extermination camps" remained a secret until the end of the war. In his words: as the facade of the Third Reich collapsed, the counter-world of concentration camps, mass graves, gas chambers and crematoria was revealed. It was this Jesuit historian's belief that Himmler had fooled even the highest German church officials.

As mentioned above, I visited this outstanding scholar, in a small Catholic convalescent home outside Munich. I went there after having studied his article, which was brought to my attention by a Catholic clergyman. For me the visit remains unforgettable.

Before seeing Father Volk, I had written a letter and made several telephone calls. The secretary of the convalescent home wanted to shield her patient, a very sick man, from unnecessary involvements and unpleasant topics. But I persisted, and a time was arranged.

It was a sunny but cool summer morning. I took the train, then the bus, and finally walked from my stop to the address. The home was pointed out to me by a mailman. After entering, I waited about fifteen minutes in a small room before the distinguished scholar entered. We shook hands and sat down. He began, in what I had to consider a cold and accusing voice, "*Nun, Sie kommen, uns Deutsche zu entlasten!* (You come to exonerate us Germans)." Although I did not take notes, I remember being rather shocked by his opening remark. Yet before long a much warmer and pleasant atmosphere developed.

During our conversation I was ever mindful of the Revisionist claims of such men as Robert Faurisson. Politely but persistently, I raised doubts, for, if even the highest ecclesiastical authorities in Germany had been unaware of the "extermination," perhaps the reality was radically different than today's version. The problem of the gas chambers was definitely discussed, as well as Arthur Butz's *Hoax of the Twentieth Century.*

After about an hour, the secretary came in and politely asked how we were doing. I took this as a cue and assured her that I would end the conversation shortly. Before we shook hands and departed, Father Volk said, reflectively but distinctly, "*Ja, Legenden können ihre eigenen Beine bekommen* (Yes, legends can grow their own legs)." These words, from someone still regarded as a *bedeutenden* (significant) historian by his fellow clergymen, have retained a deep meaning for me. What a difference a face-to-face contact can make *if one asks critical questions*!

## Notes

1. *Stimmen der Zeit*, Stimmen der Zeit Verlag, 1980, pp. 687-702.
2. Guenter Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, McGraw-Hill, New York, Toronto, 1961.
3. This is based on a letter to a fellow Revisionist in Germany.
4. Unfortunately, it seems that this letter, which I have, has not been translated.
5. This is based on my correspondence with Henning Fikentscher. He claims that he can document this. Fikentscher has written two booklets related to these topics. The first is *Prof. dr. med. Theodor Morell 1936-45*, Verlag Kurt Vowinckel, Neckar-Gemünd. (No date.) Fikentscher calls this a "*Studie.*" The second booklet is *Sechs Millionen Juden, Die Opfer*, Kritik Verlag, Mohrkirch/Aarhus, Denmark, 1980.

(Theodor Morell was Hitler's doctor. Interestingly, he was never tried in Nuremberg, dying from natural causes in 1948.)

6. Erich Kern (editor), *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Concealed Documents), FZ Verlag, Munich, 1988, p. 148.
7. Dr. Erwin Goldmann, *Zwischen Zwei Völkern: Erlebnisse und Erkenntnisse*, Helmut Cramer-Verlag, Königswinter, 1975, p. 130.
8. Goldmann, p. 130.
9. Lewy, pp. 288-9.
10. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, A.S. Barnes, New York, 1953, pp. 44-5.

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# *Conspiracy Theory and the French Revolution*

GEOFF MUIRDEN

Since 1989 is the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution this is an especially apt time to consider the conspiratorial theory of history presented in Mrs. Nesta Webster's classic, *The French Revolution.*

Mrs. Webster presents not one conspiracy, but several, insisting that plots by the Freemasons and Illuminati, mixed with those by the Duc d'Orleans and foreign powers combined to produce the tragedy of the French Revolution.

Taking these in turn, Webster suggests that:

> The lodges of the German Freemasons and Illuminati were thus the source whence emanated all those anarchic schemes which culminated in the Terror, and it was at a great meeting of the Freemasons in Frankfurt-am-Main, three years before the French Revolution began, that the deaths of Louis XVI and Gustavus III of Sweden were first planned.[1]

One argument against this would appear to be the argument of Jean-Joseph Mounier, an active participant in the French Revolution, who proposed the Tennis Court Oath and helped frame the Declaration of the Rights of Man. In his book *On the*

*Influence Attributed to Philosophers, Freemasons, and to the Illuminati on the Revolution of France*, Mounier remarks:

> Among the noble conspirators who prepared the death of Gustavus, I do not know a single one who has been desirous of playing a part in the Revolution of France, although this would have been extremely easy for them; as the French demagogues were then calling to their ranks all the madmen of Europe. But the Swedish conspirators had not the same systems; and their guilty measures were not destined to effect the establishment of a democracy.[2]

Mounier's book is most important, written as it was by an active participant in the Revolution, and it does serve against the conspiracy theory, since Mournier insists that neither the *philosophes*, nor the Freemasons, nor the Illuminati had any major part in creating the Revolution.

As a matter of fact, R.R. Palmer, in *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, cites Mounier's book as the major refutation of the "plot theory." It does, in fact, devote much of its space to refuting the claims of the Abbé Barruel about the Freemason and Illuminati plot, and also John Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy*.[3]

Mrs. Webster does not give enough attention to the challenge posed by Mounier's book to the conspiracy theory, but she does remark, in another book, *World Revolution*:

> When we come to examine Mounier's attitude more closely, however, certain considerations present themselves, too lengthy to enter into here, which detract somewhat from the value of his testimony. Of these the most important is the fact that Mounier wrote his book in Germany, where he was living under the protection of the Duke of Weimar, who had placed him at the head of a school in that city where Boettiger himself was director of the college and, according to the editor of Mounier's work, it was from Bode, who was also at Weimar and whom Boettiger declared to be the head of the Illuminati, that Mounier collected his information! And this is the sort of evidence seriously quoted against that of innumerable other contemporaries who testified to the influence of Illuminism on the French Revolution.[4]

It could be added that Mounier had no first-hand experience of the Revolution from the period between May 1790, when he fled the border into exile, until he returned to France under the rule of Napoleon in 1801.[5]

For the early period of the Revolution, in 1789-1790, however, Mounier's observations are important, and he was

inclined to play down the role of the Duc d'Orléans, who for Mrs. Webster plays such a dominant role in the period. Thus, Mounier remarks that:

> . . . some vile intriguers exerted themselves to excite the ambition of the Duke of Orléans, in order to seize upon the sovereign authority in his name; and entered into a league with those who, from whatever motive, wished for a general dissolution. But in the beginning all those voluntary and involuntary agents of anarchy did not amount to the number of 80 in an assembly of 8 or 900 persons . . . but . . . there would have been a very great majority against the factions by the union of the Orders.[6]

At the same time, Mounier had personally experienced Mirabeau, and tends to cast doubt upon his possible dedication as a servant of the Duc d'Orléans:

> The restless ambition of Mirabeau, his excessive desire of increasing his own celebrity, and of acquiring riches and power, disposed him to serve all parties. I have myself seen him go from the nocturnal committees *held by the friends of the Duke of Orléans* to those of the enthusiastic republicans, and from their secret conferences to the cabinets of the King's Ministers: but if in the first months the ministers had agreed to treat with him, he would have preferred supporting the royal authority to joining with men whom he despised. [Emphasis added][7]

The point made above is that Mirabeau was a man whose fingers were in a great many pies, who used the Duc d'Orléans when it served him but would just as readily jump into bed with other parties. In this case Mrs. Webster could be at fault in designating him as an "Orléanist," when that was only one of his public "faces."

Perhaps not too much importance need be made of the fact that the Duke was chosen Grand Master of the French lodges. Mounier says:

> The Freemasons, nothwithstanding their pretended zeal for equality, were fond of seeing at their head a man of illustrious rank. He succeeded the Prince of Conti. Besides, all the Lodges of France did not acknowledge him as Chief; several were affiliated to the Grand Orient of London.[8]

Perhaps they were not so radical politically, if they preferred a nobleman, "a man of illustrious rank," at their head, rather than one of the "bourgeois."

There may be something to be said in favor of the investigations of historians writing after Mrs. Webster, who

have suggested that, though the Masonic lodges had some influence, nevertheless they were not hotbeds of revolution. For example, Albert Soboul, analyzing the situation, decides that the Freemasons of France were divided by the French Revolution. Most aristocratic "brothers" opposed it, while most bourgeois Masons at first supported it. But these initial supporters came to oppose the radicals, and many went over to the counter-Revolution. After Thermidor, there was a revival of Masonic influence in France. It was only in the 19th century that the Masonic lodges became liberal in politics.[9]

This is not to say that Freemasons had no influence. Crane Brinton admits that many Freemasons were among the founders of the first Jacobin clubs in many parts of France. Many Masonic customs were used, such as the word "brother" for fellow Masons and secret votes with blackballs. Brinton concludes that:

> Masons undoubtedly worked through the press and the literary societies to prepare for the revolution, to draw up the *cahiers*, to get people aware that political change was possible and desirable. But of an organized plot in the melodramatic sense there is no proof. Too many non-Masons were obviously active in the early societies.

He adds that:

> Many Jacobin clubs, however, even in the first years of the Revolution, cannot be traced at the moment of actual establishment either to literary societies or to Masonic lodges. The circumstances of their origin vary greatly, and afford an instance—and by no means the last we shall notice—of the extraordinary diversity of French provincial life, a diversity which even the centralizing government of the Terror was never able wholly to destroy.[10]

Michael L. Kennedy comes to similar conclusions, while conceding that "there is something to be said for Gaston-Martin's contention that the Jacobin network was modeled on that of the Masons."[11] It could be said that the form of presentation, but not the radical content of the speeches, was influenced by Freemasonry. Soboul's work, mentioned earlier, does not support the assumption of widespread radicalism in Masonry.

This stands against Mrs. Webster's presentation. When it comes to Mrs. Webster's presentation of the Orléanist conspiracy, there are also some caveats.

There is no doubt of the Duc d'Orléans' financial ability to finance a revolution. He was the second largest landowner in

the Old Regime, after the King himself, with revenues of over 7 million livres. He could afford to buy "idea men" to oppose the Crown.[12]

His main problem was lack of persistence in his conspiracies. Brissot, writing of the Duc d'Orléans, said that "the prince was rather fond of conspiracies that lasted only twenty-four hours—any longer and he grew frightened."[13]

In effect, Kelly agrees with Mrs. Webster that Madame de Genlis, who educated the Duke in republican principles, and Choderlos de Laclos, had d'Orléans in his grip.[14] Kelly speaks of the . . .

> . . . vitual certainty that [Laclos] used the duke's money to subsidize the pen of Marat for d'Orléans and against Lafayette in 1790, and his later machinations in 1791 after the king's flight to Varennes when, as permanent secretary to the Jacobins, he attempted to rally the power of the society, perhaps with the approval of Danton, to the cause of an Orléanist regency.[15]

Also according to Kelly:

> . . . if we add together the many (often unreliable) accounts of the period, we learn that not only Brissot, but Barère, Mirabeau, Sieyès, Desmoulins, Danton, Duport, Dumouriez, and Marat all passed through the Orléanist receiving line . . . we will always, however, find the names of Mounier, Lafayette, and Robespierre conspicuously absent: these men were bitter enemies and not for hire.[16]

Kelly nevertheless takes the view, contrary to Mrs. Webster, that d'Orléans did not instigate the French people to rebellion by depriving them of bread: "The harsh winter, crop failures, and an alarming ascent of prices from 1785 on accounted for that."[17]

The Duke succeeded in fostering revolution but never in becoming regent, in which role, because of his indolence and foppishness, he would have been unsuitable.

One important event in which the Duc d'Orléans is said to have been involved is in financing the storming of the Bastille. George Rudé appears to give some support to this. Writing about looting on July 11, 1789, he states, "It is clear that the Palais Royal had a hand in the affair; it is no doubt significant that the posts said to belong to the Duc d'Orléans were deliberately moved by the incendiaries."[18] Later, he writes:

> A more or less peacefully disposed Sunday crowd of strollers in the Palais Royal was galvanized into revolutionary vigour by

> the news of Necker's dismissal and *the call to arms issued by orators of the entourage of the Duc d'Orléans.* [Emphasis added][19]

Rudé virtually agrees with Mrs. Webster's claim that "of the 800,000 inhabitants of Paris only approximately 1000 took any part in the siege of the Bastille."[20] Rudé sets the number at "between 800 and 900 persons."[21] Yet, Rudé makes a further important claim, that "at the peak of the insurrection there may have been a quarter of a million Parisians—some thought more—under arms," and in a footnote he adds that Nicolas de Bonneville, the original promotor of the *milice bourgeois*, later wrote that, on 14 July, Paris had 300,000 men under arms . . . Barnave, on 18 July, wrote of 180,000.[22]

Rudé analyzes the revolutionary crowd and concludes that most were small tradesmen, artisans and wage-earners.[23] But he makes no mention of the foreigners said to have been part of the Bastille conquerors, according to Mrs. Webster.[24] And, in opposition to Mrs. Webster, who gives a significant role to brigands from the south (the Marseillais), and from Italy, Rudé announces that "very few came from more than a mile or so from the Bastille."[25]

That the Duc d'Orléans did play a major role in financing agitation during the Revolution is established, but there seems to be some doubt about some of the details presented by Mrs. Webster, details which are the key to her thesis of a long-term revolutionary plot.

Either modern historians are engaged in a conspiracy of their own to deny the truth about the French Revolution, or else one can concede that much of what Mrs. Webster has presented deserves modification in the light of later information. This article has only touched on a fraction of her fascinating book, but Revisionist historians who want to defend Mrs. Webster against her critics will need to be able to show in what way she has been misrepresented. Until such time, her theory stands in need of modification.

## Notes

1. Webster, Nesta H., *The French Revolution*, (n.p.), 1919 (republished by The Noontide Press, Costa Mesa, CA in 1988), p. 21.
2. Mounier, Jean Joseph, *On the Influence Attributed to Philosophers, Free-Masons, and to the Illuminati on the Revolution of France*, facsimile reproduction with an introduction by Theodore A.

DiPadove. Delmar, New York, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1974, p. 69.

3. Mounier, *op. cit.*, Introductory Note, no. 4, and Mounier's book *passim.*
4. Webster, Nesta H., *World Revolution.* London, Constable & Co., 1921, p. 81.
5. Mounier, *op. cit.*, Introduction.
6. Mounier, p. 90.
7. Mounier, p. 91.
8. Mounier, p. 155.
9. Soboul, Albert, "La Franc-Maçonnerie et la Révolution Française (Free-Masonry and the French Revolution)," *Annales Historiques de la Revolution Française*, 1974, 46 (1), pp. 76-88.
10. Brinton, Crane, *The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History*, New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 15-16.
11. Kennedy, Michael L., "The Foundation of the Jacobin Clubs and the Development of the Jacobin Club Network, 1789-1791," *Journal of Modern History*, 51 (Dec., 1979) p. 703.
12. Barker, Nancy N., "Phillippe d'Orléans, Frere Unique du Roi: Founder of the Family Fortune," *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 13 (2), Fall 1983, p. 170.
13. Kelly, George Armstrong, "The Machine of the Duc d'Orléans and the New Politics," *Journal of Modern History*, 51, Dec. 1979, p. 671.
14. Kelly, p. 673; cf. Webster, *The French Revolution*, pp. 10-11.
15. Kelly, footnote no. 27, p. 673.
16. Kelly, p. 674.
17. Kelly, p. 677.
18. Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959, p. 49.
19. Rudé, p. 220.
20. Webster, *The French Revolution*, p. 95.
21. Rudé, p. 56.
22. Rudé, p. 59.
23. Rudé, p. 57.
24. Webster, *The French Revolution*, p. 39.
25. Rudé, p. 58.

# *Circuitous Suppression*

TOM MARCELLUS

*"This group [the IHR] is more dangerous than the skinheads."*
—Irv Rubin

*"Historians are dangerous people. They are capable of upsetting everything."*
—Nikita S. Khruschev

*"The Holocaust was not a sacred event. It was a historical event and it should be open to routine, historical criticism."*
—Bradley Smith

Mr. Irving Rubin of Los Angeles leads a rag-tag association of militants who claim to serve the interests of the American Jewish community by protecting it from a variety of imagined threats. His Jewish Defense League (JDL), founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane, now an American expatriate in Israel, is the organization which, a few years back, sunk the hoary art of sloganeering to new depths by coining the phrase "FOR EVERY JEW A .22!"

According to Mr. Rubin's mindset anyone—even other Jews—could be, and probably is, out to get his people. By his logic any Gentile is liable to be afflicted, at any time, with the dread contagion of anti-Semitism. But since Rubin's JDL has been classified as a terrorist group by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, "defending" his people through the use of threats and violence has become increasingly inconvenient of late, and Rubin has been forced to seek more commercial means of harrassing the "anti-Semites."

It was Rubin and his friends who, brandishing the Israeli national flag, staged two violent demonstrations in front of the offices of the Institute for Historical Review when we were

located in Torrance ("NAZIS WITH PH.Ds ARE STILL NAZIS!" "SIX MILLION—NEVER AGAIN!"). And it was Rubin who appeared at the scene of the crime the day after the devastating July 4, 1984 arson destruction of the IHR's offices and warehouse in Torrance, boasting to the press that while, of course, neither he nor his group had had a hand in the professionally-executed terrorist deed, "We applaud those who took this righteous action." He said essentially the same thing after the home of IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member Dr. George Ashley was firebombed and severely damaged four years ago. The media loves him because he can always be counted on to offer interesting news followups, from physically violent confrontations to reward offers for the severed ears of "Nazis." Indeed, "Nazis" abound in Mr. Rubin's world. And they are out "to finish the job that Hitler started."

Rubin, like his fellow Jewish terrorist Mordechai Levy, is one of those people around whom disaster, destruction and various forms of violence swirl continuously, yet who have never been convicted of anything really serious. When things got too hot for the JDL a few years ago, Rubin was forced to officially unload his uncontrollable hatchet man, Levy, who was then set up to operate out of New York City with a new organization called the JDO ("O" for Organization).

While Rubin's professed mission has been to safeguard Jews from the Holocaust which always lurks just around the corner, his own brutal antics and goon-like demeanor probably prompted as much anti-Jewish feeling as anyone. "NEVER FORGET, NEVER FORGIVE" is the JDL's motto and Rubin's own attitude toward life. This February, with his usual measure of malice aforethought and insight into the weaknesses of the human psyche, Rubin set out to torpedo the IHR's Ninth International Revisionist Conference. He failed, of course, but not before embarrassing his group, and exposing himself, as well as two multi-million dollar commercial establishments and at least one municipal police department, to serious legal repercussions, including breach of contract and conspiracy to violate the civil rights of American citizens.

### The Rumor of Auschwitz Revisited

During the afternoon of February 16, 1989, Irv Rubin held a press conference in the lobby of what was to have been the site of the Ninth International Revisionist Conference: the Red Lion Inn in Costa Mesa, California. He was after the hotel to

cancel the event. He had mistakenly been informed that the IHR had booked the hotel under a phony name and thus left itself open to some form of lawful last-minute cancellation by the Red Lion. But Irv Rubin is a generous man: in the event that IHR's booking was legally binding and the Red Lion could not be intimidated into cancelling, he offered to place the JDL's financial resources at the disposal of the hotel's management should it wind up as the defendant in a costly lawsuit.

The day before, the manager of the Red Lion Inn, Russell Cox, had phoned to tell me "confidentially" that he was cancelling the IHR's contract, claiming that he had "three Jewish weddings" scheduled for that weekend and wanted no trouble. There was no convincing Cox with any rational arguments. He was not the least open either to truth or pleas for justice. I realized it wouldn't help asking him to cancel the "three Jewish weddings" instead. The die was cast. The Red Lion was backing out, unilaterally breaching a signed contract with the Institute, a contract made some eight months earlier with a good faith cash deposit. Seventy-two hours before the IHR's Ninth International Revisionist Conference was to commence, with 180 people scheduled to arrive from four continents, and with the Red Lion standing to gain more than $20,000 in revenues from lodging and banquet bookings, the IHR suddenly found itself with no place to hold the event.

We at IHR, however, were not caught unawares.

## Behind the Orange Curtain

On the previous Tuesday, Mr. Cox had called to tell me that the Red Lion had received several anonymous phone threats of demonstrations and protests if he allowed the IHR group to meet there. But at that time he didn't appear to be overly concerned. He did seem a bit bewildered, however, about complaints that we were "rewriting history." But when I explained to him that whenever any history is *written*, history, at that point, is being *rewritten*, he seemed satisfied. He was cordial and said that he looked forward to meeting me on Saturday, the opening day of the conference.

Evidently, the Red Lion Inn decided to renege only after Irv Rubin forewarned the hotel and the media that he planned to hold a press conference there.

Mr. Cox did not have the courage to say NO to a member of an organization with a public record of intimidation and

violence. Rubin, his sidekick Bruce Derflinger, and the other JDL bully boys were invited to assemble in the Red Lion's elegant marble- and brass-fronted lobby and hold their press conference in the name of freedom of speech. Meanwhile, a legitimate, peaceful, historical society with no record of ever having caused trouble or violence, after *eight* previous conferences, seven of them in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, was being banned from the hotel, despite a binding contract made months before.

It thus seemed clear that the hotel's devastating eleventh-hour cancellation had been engineered not by one of the officially approved and influential Jewish pressure groups, such as the Anti-Defamation [*sic*] League, but by perhaps only one or two JDLers who, after having discoverd the location of the conference, made a few phone calls to the hotel, hinted a threat or two, including the suggestion of adverse publicity, and announced a press conference to convince the Red Lion management to throw us out. If this supposition is correct, then all it took to prompt the breach of a valid commerical contract and leave 180 people without their pre-arranged conference site was perhaps two, maybe three, frenetic cranks with little to offer of late besides impotent threats. Then again, the JDL may have had a little help in its efforts, courtesy of the Costa Mesa Police Department.

### Curiouser and Curiouser

When I was told by the Red Lion's Mr. Cox of the cancellation, I was also advised that a local Holiday Inn had agreed to accept and honor the contracts made originally with the Red Lion (the IHR's Eighth Conference had been held at another local Holiday Inn). Fobbing us off like this, from the Red Lion management's point of view, might serve to mitigate to some extent its contractual and financial liability. In other words, if the Red Lion could arrange for the IHR to hold its conference elsewhere, the IHR could be supposed to experience *less* of a direct financial loss than by having *no* place at all to hold the event.

The Holiday Inn directly across Bristol Street seemed a logical choice. It did not remotely approach the class and opulence of the Red Lion, but it was close by, and its manager, with knowledge of the circumstances of our Red Lion cancellation, with no Jewish weddings that weekend, and with a virtually empty hotel and no scheduled banquet business, seemed glad to accommodate us. It is worth noting

at this point that Mr. Cox assured me that he had spoken at some length with the Holiday Inn's manager, Mr. Dick Heatherington, and had informed him of the nature of the "problem" he had with the IHR and the "three Jewish weddings," and that Mr. Heatherington was all the same happy to have our business.

The Holiday Inn contracts were all drawn up and signed the following afternoon amid smiles, handshakes and repeated assurances of the best service. I handed over a $10,000 deposit check (subsequently cashed by the Holiday Inn), and everything seemed set. Twenty thousand dollars of instant revenue had been effortlessly gained by the Bristol Street Holiday Inn. Its managers had reason to smile. All this took place on Thursday, less than 48 hours before some 180 invited Revisionists were due to descent on Orange County, proceed to the Holiday Inn via the Red Lion, and attend the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

## The Aftershock

I was at the office all day Friday; everything seemed to be going well. I called the new hotel a few times to make changes to the rooming list and to take care of all the last-minute loose ends. The hotel had given no sign of anything untoward, the conference was still on, and it was to be the largest and, by all prospects the best, conference we'd ever held. At around 5:00 p.m. I left the office with conference emcee Mark Weber, and headed home.

Prof. Robert Faurisson and another conference attendee from out of town were staying at my apartment. Mark and I arrived at my place, parked the car, walked the distance to my door and entered. What I heard in the next two seconds made my blood boil. The Holiday Inn had called the office and cancelled the contract at approximately 5:10 p.m., moments after I had left. On this Friday, the seventeenth of February, our people were already arriving by plane. Registration for the conference was less than 20 hours away. I could visualize aircraft landing with attendees and speakers from as far away as Japan and Switzerland, cars converging on the Los Angeles areas with guests from Vancouver, Seattle, San Francisco. Suddenly, as if by diabolic intervention, we were without lodging, meeting space, catering facilities, our conference; we didn't even have a place to meet and sort things out. All attendees had been notified to come to the Red Lion, and although the Red Lion promised to tell our people to go across

the street to the Holiday Inn, there was now no room at the Holiday Inn, either.

Just about then, I reckon that Mr. Irving Rubin and his boys were off tossing down a few (watery) beers and laughing among themselves at the wimpish acquiescence of the managers of two major franchises, in what trade publications refer to as the "hospitality industry," smug in their confidence that the rug had been cunningly pulled out from underneath the Revisionists at the last possible minute. Bristol Street, in the fair city of Costa Mesa, California, had shattered the world record for the number of commercial contracts unilaterally breached on a single street in one 48-hour period. And it looked as if this might well portend the beginning of the end for freedom of speech for Historical Revisionists in these United States.

**To Serve and Protect**

It is difficult to remember a time span in my life as intense as the two hours between 6:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. that Friday evening. Phone calls were coming in and going out so fast that it was hard to believe any order could ever emerge from the apparent chaos. The IHR and Historical Revisionism were being systematically muzzled, right before our eyes, in the United States of America. We had paid half the entire hotel bill in advance. We had the signed contracts. The only thing we *didn't* have was a place to put 180 people, all of them looking forward to an enjoyable and informative three-day conference.

I placed a call immediately to Dick Heatherington, general manager of the Holiday Inn, who, not a day and a half ago, had been all smiles and enthusiasm.

Why was he cancelling us at the very last moment? On the recommendation of Captain Tom Lazare of the Costa Mesa Police Department, Heatherington said.

According to Heatherington, Lazare had called earlier to warn of the likelihood of some trouble, a demonstration, a confrontation. Heatherington had heeded Captain Lazare's advice and phoned his superiors at Holiday Inn corporate headquarters in Kansas City. Heatherington informed me that the decision to cancel was made over his head, based on the Costa Mesa Police Department recommendation. He apologized several times, saying how sorry he was and how terrible he felt that we were being thrown out, none of which, of course, alleviated my problem in the slightest.

Instructing Heatherington as to the characteristic stratagems and bluff favored by the JDL, and urging him to call his superiors back or to put me in touch with them directly, I next called the Costa Mesa Police and asked for Captain Lazare. Lazare had left his office at police headquarters and returned home. A fellow who said his name was Captain Smith fielded my call; I told him what I has been told by Heatherington. I expressed my disbelief that any police department would advise in favor of the breach of a commercial contract. And hadn't Presidents Reagan and Bush informed the nation of their resolve not to surrender to terrorist demands? Smith transferred me to the watch commander, to whom I restated my complaint. The watch commander, stonewalling at first, told me to call back during regular business hours on Monday to talk to Lazare. After my adamant insistence, however, he agreed to try to reach Lazare at home; he promised to call me back as soon as possible.

As good as his word, the watch commander soon called to say that Lazare could not be located. Gone fishin', maybe, and without his pager! At this point, it was clear that the Costa Mesa police were in no mood either to serve or protect. Despite the valid commercial contracts, despite Constitutional and civil rights, our last hopes for a reconsideration and a reinstatement of the conference at the Holiday Inn seemed to be fading fast.

## The Revisionists Rally

Meanwhile, I waited to hear back from Heatherington, who was presumably contacting his superiors in Kansas City. At 7:30 p.m. he called to let me know that he had been unable to reach any decision-makers. Since Conference attendees were by then pouring into the Holiday Inn to register for their rooms, Heatherington expressed a willingness to permit us at least to conduct our own registration for the conference the afternoon of the following day. No meetings and no food, however. And since our contract had been cancelled, there was to be no further direct billing to the master IHR account. Arriving attendees would have to pay for their rooms, a second time, on their own account.

This was distasteful, but we had at least secured a foothold. If we could at least meet and organize, mass confusion would be avoided, and perhaps there would still be time to find an alternative location for the Saturday night opening and the following two full days of the conference agenda.

Around 8:00 p.m. Friday evening Robert Faurisson, Mark Weber, Frank and I sat eating pizza and discussing the situation. I knew none of us would sleep that night and that the following day might well turn out to be the busiest in my life. The phone rang. It was a local conference attendee who had called the IHR office and learned of the last-minute cancellation. He had already called a friend of his who might be able to help: Joe Bischof, owner of a large restaurant and banquet hall at Old World, a European-style shopping complex in nearby Huntington Beach. In addition to some twenty speciality shops, Old World has a church with a large basement. The word from our caller was that Mr. Bischof could probably feed our group and provide us with a meeting space on Sunday and Monday, but it might be tricky because of existing bookings. I called Mr. Bischof immediately and suggested we meet first thing the following day to work out the details. He couldn't help us out for the Saturday night meeting, but he said that he could probably work something out for the following two days.

The next slice of pizza tasted awfully good. I uncapped a cold beer. Now we had a place to organize, register and make plans on Saturday afternoon, as well as a place to meet for the two big days of the conference. A half-hour before we had had nothing. Two problems down and just one to go. All we had to do now was find meeting space for Saturday night.

### Freedom of Assembly and Speech Prevail

Since taking over the directorship of the IHR in 1981, I have always happily remarked to my associates at the end of every IHR conference, "We pulled another one off." I've looked at it this way only because of the character of the opposition which any dissent in this area finds itself up against: it is underhanded, defamatory, intellectually non-confrontational and utterly un-American.

Irv Rubin's remarks to the press during this brouhaha included the statement, "We will confront them on any level they wish." But of course Rubin fears to confront anything above his street-level plane of understanding. Repeated calls by the IHR and others for an open debate on the Holocaust remain unanswered. Such a debate was scheduled to occur in Torrance on the Tuesday following the conference. The Revisionists were there, as promised, but the anti-Revisionists—all four of them—bailed out.

To make a long story short, we did, in fact, pull it off. A

Saturday night booking was made at almost the last minute, and on Sunday morning we moved over to Old World. This eleventh-hour organizing, briefing, and shuttling around of 180 people, many of whom were elderly and most of whom were far from their residential element, could not have been accomplished, I believe, by any other group. Everyone simply got shoulder to shoulder and pulled hard. It gave me real inspiration, and was impressive beyond words.

In the end, we all enjoyed a full conference that ran right on schedule, without a single upsetting incident. Judging from the comments of both attendees and speakers, this was, indeed, by far the best IHR conference ever. By the third day, nearly 200 people packed the bunker-like basement beneath the chapel, and professional video and audio crews recorded the entire three day-event on tape.

Rubin and a handful of sullen hangers-on did finally manage to catch up, turning in their usual pathetic performance. Irv and his gang's idea of rational discourse was to march around with placards proclaiming, e.g.: "IF THERE WAS NO HOLOCAUST, THEN THERE WAS NO VIETNAM WAR AND CUSTER'S LAST STAND." Quite a syllogism!

It may turn out that during this conference weekend they will have accomplished exactly the opposite of what they had intended to do. This time there *will* be a backlash. Our legal case is unmistakably clear: there have been two major, unilateral breaches of contract; violations of our civil rights; and perhaps even a conspiracy to violate our rights as well. These matters will be pursued and both actual and punitive damages sought. The only question that remains is one of financial resources. To seek remedies in the courts in these times requires sizeable funds, something the IHR simply does not possess.

But if what was done to the Institute in this case is permitted to go unpenalized or unpunished, it will set a precedent that will make our Constitutional guarantees of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech worth little more than the paper they are printed on. Thus every American who believes in these rights, and who is able to contemplate a world in which they are absent, has a vital vested interest in fully supporting the IHR in seeking a judicious and meaningful remedy.

I believe all of us Americans at IHR's Ninth Conference during the historic weekend of February 18-20, 1989 had reason to be proud of the rights and freedoms our forefathers

wrung from the world's mightiest empire a little over two hundred years ago. Our foreign visitors, I think, were impressed to see us stand up to economic sanction, open threats, and police intransigence with the casual self-assurance and unstudied pragmatism that stamps the best of our countrymen.

And we're a bit proud of ourselves as well. Once again, in modern-day "times that try men's souls," the men and women of the Institute for Historical Review have served notice that they claim their birthright of free speech and free inquiry with pride, not shame, in devotion to truth and in defiance of whoever would engineer or acquiesce in its suppression, be he trembling corporate "honcho," home-grown terrorist, alien meddler, or minion of the State.

(continued from page 4)
Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)" both immediate and enduring value (by the way, plans are now afoot for an updated, illustrated book containing the pick of Robert Faurisson's Revisionist writings in English).

Our next article, by the late William Hesseltine, first appeared in the May 9, 1945 issue of *The Progressive*, a left-of-center journal (still published today) which nevertheless, in the tradition of Wisconsin's Progressive Senator Robert La Follette, expressed sympathy at the plight of the German people. In "Atrocities, Then and Now" Professor Hesseltine, an American historian with particular expertise in the history of Civil War prison camps, draws, with remarkable foresight and courage, a parallel between Union exploitation of the appalling conditions which prevailed in Confederate camps for Union prisoners at the end of the Civil War and the virtually identical use the American leaders and their allies made of similar scenes in the German camps in the spring of 1945. (*JHR* readers should recall Editorial Advisor Mark Weber's excellent piece on "The Civil War Concentration Camps," which appeared in the Summer 1981 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* [Vol. Two, no. 2].)

Like Hesseltine, Dr. Clarence Lang writes of governmental cruelty and hypocrisy during wartime. In this case the cruelty and hypocrisy were Roosevelt's and Churchill's, for these Allied leaders deliberately rejected every effort, subsequent to the highly successful Red Cross aid to Greece in 1942, to relieve the suffering of the civilian populace in the Axis-occupied countries during World War II. To do otherwise would have impeded their policy of total war: a war total not only in the ferocity with which America and Britain waged it, not only in the costly extravagance of their unconditional surrender demands, but in the calculating cruelty of their treatment of civilian populations and in the cynical exploitation of the results of this treatment by an unrelenting atrocity propaganda.

This issue of *The Journal* features two book reviews. The first is of Carlos Porter's debunking of the Nuremberg "evidence" and "record" in his *Made in Russia: The Holocaust.* Then frequent *JHR* contributor John Ries reviews a book which examines the organizational and political prerequisites for National Socialism's broad appeal in one middle-sized university town, Marburg on the Lahn.

In "Historical News and Comment" Robert Faurisson, author of IHR's *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?*, gives us a

look at *four* different samples of what is alleged to be the teenager's handwriting. Seeing is believing.

Dr. Lang, a long-time Lutheran pastor, examines a German Jesuit's study of the reaction of prominent Catholic churchmen to the alleged "Holocaust" during the latter part of the war. Lang homes in on the seeming inconsistency between the hierarchy's public condemnation of German euthanasia measures and its supposed silence in the face of what is claimed to have been a far more ambitious extermination program. Christian anti-semitism? Or healthy skepticism regarding elusive rumors and wild propaganda claims? Dr. Lang concludes with a report of a very instructive meeting with the late Ludwig Volk, S.J.

Geoff Muirden, a first-time contributor from Australia, voices some healthy Revisionist questions about the work of a leading historian of the French Revolution, the Englishwoman Nesta Webster (whose *The French Revolution* may be ordered from IHR). Without detracting from Mrs. Webster's immense stature as a social historian, Muirden points to evidence tending to place limits on the explanatory power of what Establishment historians and their camp followers like to deride as "the conspiracy theory of history." *Journal* readers may be mindful of the late David Hoggan's defense of France's still controversial revolution in the Spring 1985 *JHR* ("Plato's Dialectic v. Hegel and Marx: An Evaluation of Five Revolutions"); here, as on many other historical issues, there is no Revisionist party line." In this, the bicentennial year of the fall of the Bastille and the march on Versailles, *The Journal of Historical Review* eagerly awaits informed criticism of, or assent to, Mr. Muirden's argument.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

# *About the Contributors*

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